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Art. 1.—INTERNATIONAL FINANCE IN TIME OF WAR.

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2. *Finanzielle Kriegsbereitschaft und Kriegsführung.* By Dr J. Riesser. Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1909.
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THE question of financial preparation for war is one of vital importance to this country; and yet it may be said that this aspect of the problem of national defence has been practically ignored hitherto. London is the citadel of the international financial system; and, in the event of war with a European Power capable of challenging our naval supremacy, the London money-market would be immediately subjected to a financial panic of unparalleled magnitude and severity, a panic which could hardly fail to involve the whole community in incalculable losses, unless certain measures of precaution be taken.

The country which can hope to conduct a great war with the minimum of distress to its civil inhabitants, and to emerge from the conflict with the least permanent loss to its citizens, must possess, in addition to its naval and military forces, great national wealth, a prosperous and well-employed population whose food-supplies are assured at reasonable rates, well-ordered national finances which do not place an unduly high burden of taxation upon the people, and, finally, money-markets organised upon a sound basis, and banks and financial institutions able to meet with ease all their money engagements. It will be

instructive, in the first place, to consider how far the United Kingdom conforms to these ideal conditions.

In the matter of national wealth the United Kingdom occupies a more favourable position than that held by any other Power. The wealth of this country is greater than that of any other nation except the United States, and it exists in a more liquid form. A recent computation based on the lines of the estimate made by the late Sir Robert Giffen in 1903, places the national wealth of the United Kingdom at about 18,000,000,000*l.*; and another distinguished Civil Servant has recently estimated the national wealth at about 20,000,000,000*l.* This compares favourably with the estimates of about 14,000,000,000*l.* in the case of Germany, and 10,000,000,000*l.* in that of France.

With regard to the supply of food and raw material in time of war, no great Power occupies such a vulnerable position as that which is held by Great Britain. More than three-fourths of the wheat consumed in this country are obtained from abroad; and on several occasions the stocks held here have fallen below one month's supply. For a large number of other foodstuffs and for practically all the principal raw materials used by our manufacturers we are equally dependent upon supplies from our overseas dominions and from foreign countries. On the outbreak of a maritime war the cost of marine transport would be largely increased, owing to the advance which would take place in the charges for insurance and the increased cost of coal and other materials; and there would be a great disturbance of the ordinary channels of trade. These influences would have the inevitable result of increasing the cost of living and throwing large numbers of workers out of employment. The question of food-supplies has a peculiar significance for this country in view of the fact that a large proportion of the people live in a chronic state of distress. It has been stated on high authority that over one-sixth of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom live on the verge of starvation; and it may be feared that on most of these people the burden of the increased cost of living would fall with crushing effect. The evils of unemployment would be greatly aggravated by war, because our manufacturers would find much difficulty in keeping their works open, owing

to the collapse of credit, the shrinkage of our export trade, and the increased cost of production which would result from war.

Our position with regard to the supply of food and raw materials is so weak that it would appear to be an almost indispensable part of any comprehensive scheme of national defence that the State should undertake the duty of feeding the people, or, at least, of meeting the increased cost of living, in time of war. If some such measure be not taken, there is grave danger that the distress and unemployment which would occur immediately after the outbreak of war would be of such magnitude as seriously to hamper the Government. It is of the utmost importance that the Admiralty should be relieved from the pressure of an uninstructed public opinion, criticising adversely their strategic dispositions. The Spanish American war afforded an example of the mischievous influence which may be exerted by an unreasoning panic. The panic in America was not due to any fear of interference with the food-supplies, but to local alarm on the sea-board that a raid might be made on some of the coast-towns by Admiral Cervera's fleet. The influence of this panic was sufficient to cause pressure to be brought to bear upon the Government, which adversely affected the strategical disposition of the American fleet. It could probably be demonstrated that it would, on the whole, be an economic benefit to this country that the State should undertake to feed the people in time of war with a great naval Power; and that the addition which would be made to the ultimate cost of the war would be inconsiderable in comparison with the great national interests which would be served by the adoption of this policy. It is true that the Committee on a National Guarantee for the war risks of Shipping were unable to recommend the adoption of any form of National Guarantee, except that which is provided by the maintenance of a powerful navy; but even in the short time which has elapsed since the evidence was taken on which this conclusion was based, there has been further weakening in our relative naval supremacy.

So far as the national finances are concerned, Great Britain may be said to occupy a fairly satisfactory

position. In March 1908 the public debt amounted to 754,121,000*l.*, equivalent to 16*l.* 15*s.* 1*d.* per head of the estimated population. The national debt of France at the end of 1907 was 1,233,927,000*l.*, or 31*l.* 8*s.* 1*d.* per head. The Imperial Debt of Germany on March 31, 1906, was 173,445,000*l.*, and the amount of the Federal Debts on the same date was 609,500,000*l.*; the aggregate amount of the Imperial and Federal debts being 782,745,000*l.*, or 12*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.* per head. In the case of Germany, however, it is important to bear in mind the fact that a large proportion of the public debt has been incurred in respect of revenue-producing undertakings, such as railways, waterways and forests. In the general consideration of the comparative financial position of the three great Powers, it should not be forgotten that Great Britain is the only Power which has effected a substantial reduction in the amount of its public debt in recent years.

In the matter of Imperial and Local Taxation, the situation of this country is not equally favourable. The Imperial taxation of the United Kingdom for the year ending April 4, 1908, worked out at 2*l.* 15*s.* 9*d.* per head, as compared with 2*l.* 11*s.* 5*d.* for France, and 19*s.* 7*d.* for Germany. International statistical comparisons are always unsatisfactory, owing to the practical difficulties in the way of obtaining precisely parallel conditions; and it must be pointed out that these figures do not afford a true basis of comparison, because in the case of Germany the Federal States have reserved to themselves the principal sources of direct taxation such as income-tax and death-duties.

The burden of local taxation in this country is becoming one of great magnitude. In 1904 the aggregate debt of the Local Authorities was 466,459,000*l.*, or 13*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.* per head of the population; and during the same year the amount raised from rates averaged 1*l.* 13*s.* 2*d.* per head. The Local Debt of France at the end of 1906 reached 186,059,000*l.* or only 4*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.* per head; while the amount raised by means of local taxation was only 17*s.* 5*d.* per head. Local taxation in Germany appears to be considerably higher than that of France. In 1905 the average amount of taxes raised per head of the estimated population in fifty-four principal German cities was 1*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* For a like number of English towns

the average amount per head was 1*l.* 9*s.*, but this was exclusive of the Poor Rate.

In view of all the circumstances, it may perhaps be said that, having regard to our greater national wealth, this country does not bear a heavier burden of Imperial taxation than either France or Germany. It is, however, impossible to view the recent extension of direct taxation, particularly in the matter of income-tax, without misgiving. Prior to the advent of the present Administration, the income-tax was regarded largely as a reserve-tax to be used for war purposes. It was first imposed by Pitt in 1798 to meet the cost of the French war; and it was re-imposed in one form or another until 1816, when it was permitted to lapse. In 1842 the tax was re-established by Sir Robert Peel, when the rate was fixed at 7*d.* in the pound on all incomes exceeding 150*l.* It remained at this level until 1854, when, owing to the Crimean war, it was raised to 1*s.* 2*d.* and even 1*s.* 4*d.* in the pound. The tax was reduced to 7*d.* in 1857, and during the ensuing thirty-nine years it averaged 6·3*d.* in the pound. During the South African war it rose to 1*s.* 3*d.*, but was reduced in 1904 to 11*d.* For the following five years it stood at 1*s.* It now stands at 1*s.* 2*d.*, with a super-tax of 6*d.* in the pound on incomes over 5000*l.* We are thus paying in times of peace a higher average income-tax than that imposed during either the Crimean or the South African war; we have, in fact, laid ourselves open to the charge of using, in time of peace, reserves of taxation which it has always been one of the principles of sound finance to regard as part of our war-reserve fund. A logical sequence of this policy would appear to be an understanding that in future wars the cost should be defrayed almost entirely by means of loans, instead of, as in the South African war, providing 33 per cent. of the total expenditure by the imposition of additional taxes. If some such principle as this be not adopted, an income-tax of 2*s.* 6*d.* or even 3*s.* 6*d.* in the pound appears to be not altogether improbable during the next great war.

The abnormal growth of local expenditure is another unsatisfactory feature of national finance, which is bound to exercise an unfavourable influence upon our finances in time of war. Imperial taxation has risen largely

within the past twenty years, but local expenditure has increased even more rapidly. In 1890 the total amount of rates raised was 27,713,000*l.*, the average amount per head of the population being 19*s.* 6*d.* For the year 1906 the amount had increased to 58,256,000*l.* or 1*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.* per head. It is instructive to note, moreover, that local expenditure is now running at the rate of 160,000,000*l.* per annum, an amount which is nearly equivalent to the total Imperial expenditure. Happily there is a growing disposition to impose some restraint upon the tendency which Parliament has shown in recent years to place onerous duties upon the Local Authorities without making any financial provision therefor from Imperial taxation.

It is a profoundly important question whether the London money-market is organised upon such a sound basis as would enable it to meet in a satisfactory manner the great strain that would be imposed upon it by a war of unlimited liability. London is the centre of the world's monetary system; and she conducts her vast credit transactions with an almost incredibly small reserve of gold. This is rendered possible by the universal credit which London enjoys. Ever since the resumption of specie payments in 1819, we have been the only free market for gold; and every buyer of a draft on London knows that, if he wishes it, he can always obtain payment in gold. It is important to note the influences which have contributed to the establishment of London as the centre of the international financial system. They include, *inter alia*, the magnitude of our shipping industry, the economy and soundness of our banking methods, the stability of our political institutions, and our reputation for fair dealing. But, above all, our credit has been established by, and is dependent upon, the unchallengeable supremacy of the British navy. For nearly a century this country has had no experience of a war in which its commerce was endangered; and for several generations Great Britain has been in a sense the safe-deposit of the world. We have, of course, been involved in some costly wars during the past century; but the theatre of operations has in every case been remote, and most of the wars have been of the limited liability type. But,

with the development of the German navy, we are face to face with a new conjuncture which may have a far-reaching influence upon our credit system; and it will be desirable to review the position of our gold-reserves in the light of this development.

The internal and external liabilities of the banks of this country have grown enormously in recent years, but our gold-reserves have not been increased proportionately. The deposit and current accounts of the banks of the United Kingdom amount to about 913,000,000*l.*, or, including the savings banks, to 1,123,000,000*l.*, while the average stock of gold held by all these institutions cannot well exceed 60,000,000*l.* The average stock of bullion and specie retained by the Bank of England during 1909 was 37,300,000*l.*; and on this comparatively trifling stock of gold we should have to depend in time of war, apart, of course, from the supplies which would in the ordinary course of events reach us from the Colonies and from foreign countries. The principal function of a gold-reserve is to meet any demand which may arise from a sudden apprehension or panic. As an illustration of the extent of the internal demand for money which might arise at a time of war, it is instructive to note that the cash in hand at the Bank of France on June 9, 1870, was 60,480,000*l.*; and by September 8, 1870, the amount had fallen to 28,160,000*l.* Thus in three months the Bank of France had to part with 32,000,000*l.* in cash. Two years ago the late Sir Robert Giffen expressed the opinion that, in the event of war with a great European Power, the internal demand for gold would absorb the entire stock at present held in reserve.

But the greatest danger lies in the possibility of a sudden large foreign demand for gold. It is well known that foreign banks and finance houses employ large credits in the London money-market, credits which might be withdrawn very suddenly; and if, at a time of war-panic, an attempt were made to withdraw these credits in the form of gold, it is difficult to see how the Bank could avoid the suspension of specie payments. In 1870 the Bank of France was compelled to suspend specie payments and also to enact a *moratorium* for bills. In the consideration of this aspect of the question it must also be

borne in mind that it would be the obvious policy of the enemy to damage our credit system as much as possible; and it may be taken for granted that a determined effort would be made to achieve this object by means of the sudden withdrawal of gold from London.

It has been urged by certain financial authorities and others that it would be to the interest of all the neutral Powers to maintain the credit of London, and that they would, with this object in view, send gold to London instead of withdrawing it. It is true that this has been the course of events in the more important commercial crises which have recently occurred. Thus in 1890 the Bank of France lent 4,500,000*l.* to the London money-market; and, no doubt, on a similar emergency it would do so again. But is it reasonable to expect that the Bank of France or any of the other great European banks would be in a position, at a moment of acute international crisis, to send from 10,000,000*l.* to 20,000,000*l.* in gold to London to avert a great monetary panic? The answer must obviously be in the negative; the institutions referred to would inevitably find themselves at such a time confronted by an internal demand for gold which would strain their resources to the uttermost limit. It must be admitted, therefore, that, if we wish to secure ourselves against any such disaster as the suspension of specie payments at a time of war, we must in time of peace take measures materially to strengthen our gold-reserves.

The practical value of a large gold-reserve in time of war was strikingly illustrated during the Russo-Japanese war. At the beginning of the war the Bank of Russia and the Imperial Treasury held 106,300,000*l.* in gold. The possession of this huge stock of gold enabled Russia to raise money in Paris and Berlin as cheaply as her victorious adversary was able to raise money in London: and, had the war been greatly prolonged, it is not improbable that the great specie reserve of Russia would have played a still more important part in the conflict.

Apart from its importance in maintaining credit, a large stock of gold is necessary for the conduct of a great war. Prussia recognised this long ago, and she entered upon the Austrian campaign of 1866 with a reserve-fund of 21,000,000 thalers. Again, in 1870, at the commence-

ment of the war with France, Prussia possessed a war-treasure of 4,500,000*l.*; and at the present time she holds a war-chest of 6,000,000*l.*, which was set aside out of the indemnity received from France, and is retained at the Juliusthurm at Spandau for the purpose of defraying the expense of mobilisation.

The Great Powers of Europe have long appreciated the necessity of retaining large gold-reserves for credit and war purposes; and attention may be directed to the fact that the average stock of gold retained by the Bank of England is considerably lower than that of either Russia, France, Austria, Italy, or Germany. On June 30, 1910, the stock of gold held by each of the great European Banks of issue was as follows:—Bank of England, 42,400,000*l.*; Bank of France, 136,157,000*l.*; Imperial Bank of Germany, 51,340,000*l.* (including silver); Imperial Bank of Russia, 150,098,000*l.* (including silver); Italy (three issue banks), 48,240,000*l.*; Bank of Austria-Hungary, 55,459,000*l.* Having regard to the enormous extent of our internal and external obligations, it cannot be said that we have any reason to feel satisfied with our comparative position in the matter of gold-reserves.

A further significant illustration of the value which the great European States attach to the possession of a large stock of gold in time of war, or of threatened war, was afforded during the recent Balkan crisis. It will be remembered that on October 3, 1908, the Austrian Ambassador in Paris laid before the French President an autograph letter from the Emperor Francis Joseph, announcing the intention of the Austrian Cabinet to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina as integral parts of the Empire. The matter then entered upon an acute stage, with the result that the international money-markets were seriously disturbed and all the Bourses were depressed. The period of tension lasted until March 26, 1909, when the crisis was terminated by Russia's formal recognition of the annexation of the two provinces. The money-markets then became less strained, and there was an immediate outburst of speculative activity on all the Bourses. During the period of tension all the banks of the Great Powers were accumulating stocks of gold; and the extent of their activity in this direction may be

gathered from a perusal of the details furnished in the following table :—

STOCKS OF GOLD HELD BY THE PRINCIPAL EUROPEAN BANKS OF ISSUE
ON CERTAIN DATES DURING THE BALKAN CRISIS. IN MILLION £.

Date.	Austria-Hungary.	France.	Germany.	Great Britain.	Russia.
January 1, 1908 .	45·8	107	35·2	32·5	122·7
October 1, 1908 .	48·6	129·7	51·7	38	127·5
March 31, 1909 .	51·9	143·7	50·6	41·7	131·9

It will be observed that every bank increased its stock of gold within the dates named; and, while it must be remembered that there were other influences at work which affected the money-markets of the world, and probably facilitated the policy of accumulation, it may be fairly claimed that the unanimity of the policy of the European banks during the Balkan crisis affords conclusive evidence of the general belief entertained by European statesmen and bankers, that large reserves of gold are indispensable in time of war.

Another important matter to which attention may be directed is the cost of war under modern conditions. In 1869 M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, in 'Les Guerres Contemporaines,' furnished some valuable information with regard to the cost of wars which occurred between 1853 and 1866. The result of his investigations is summarised in the following table, viz. :—

War.	Date.	Loss of Human Life.	Cost.
Crimean	1853-4	784,991	£ 340,000,000
Italian	1859	45,000	60,000,000
Schleswig-Holstein	1864	3,500	7,000,000
American Civil War	1861-5		
Northern Army.	281,000	940,000,000
Southern Army.	519,000	460,000,000
War of 1866 between Prussia, Austria, and Italy	1866	45,000	66,000,000

The area of M. Leroy-Beaulieu's investigations did not, of course, include the most recent war of the unlimited liability type, namely, the Franco-German

conflict of 1870. The total losses of France in killed, wounded, and prisoners were 21,500 officers and 702,000 men. The cost of the war to France was 544,000,000*l.* Germany's losses were 6,247 officers and 123,400 men; and her military expenses amounted to 77,500,000*l.* This war affords a very striking illustration of the fundamental difference which exists between the war finance of a country whose armies are successful and invade the territory of its enemy, and the war finance of the country which is vanquished, and whose territory becomes the theatre of operations. If the indemnity received from France be taken into account and the value of the two provinces ceded to her be also included, it will be found that Germany made a pecuniary profit out of the war to the extent of about 164,000,000*l.* It is impossible, moreover, to dissociate the effect of this war from the enormous economic development of Germany during the past forty years.

The two most important wars which have occurred since the conflict of 1870 are the South African war of 1899-1902, and the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-5. The South African war lasted about 31 months. Our losses in killed and wounded amounted to approximately 44,700; and the direct cost of the war to the Imperial Exchequer was 211,000,000*l.* The Boer losses were 4,000 fighting men. It is impossible to arrive at the monetary cost of the war to the two Republics, but it must have amounted to about two years of the national income.

The Russo-Japanese war lasted for a year and a half. The Japanese losses amounted to 135,000 men; and the direct cost of the war to the Japanese Government was 203,000,000*l.* The Russian losses in killed, wounded, and prisoners were approximately 350,000; and the direct cost to the Russian Government was about 300,000,000*l.*

During the forty years which have elapsed since the Franco-German war there has been a remarkable expansion in the volume of international trade and international finance; and it is therefore impracticable to measure the cost of a modern war on the basis of the experiences of France and Germany in 1870 and 1871. Again, neither the South African war nor the Russo-Japanese war can be said to afford an illustration of the economic effect of war between two great European

Powers. In each case the theatre of war was remote from the great monetary centres of the world, yet it will be found that the direct cost to the belligerents was as great as that of the Franco-German war. There is ground for the belief that the indirect losses occasioned by the Russo-Japanese war were not nearly so large as those incurred in 1870-1; but it is obvious that, if a war of the limited liability type can involve a direct loss of upwards of 500,000,000*l.*, a conflict between two of the great monetary powers of the world would, under existing conditions, involve financial losses to an extent which it would be difficult to exaggerate.

In an interesting pamphlet entitled '*Finanzielle Kriegsbereitschaft und Kriegsführung*,' Dr Riesser has framed an estimate of Germany's monetary requirements in the event of war. The expenditure upon the mobilisation of the army and the fleet in the first six weeks is placed at 60,000,000*l.* A further sum of 50,000,000*l.* would be required to defray expenditure on account of war-stores, food-stuffs, etc.; and the strain due to the war-panic would absorb a further sum of 12,500,000*l.* (surely a very moderate estimate). Thus in the first six weeks after the declaration of war Germany would, in Dr Riesser's opinion, have to provide 122,500,000*l.* To obtain this sum he suggests the suspension of ordinary peace expenditure on public buildings, etc.; and that the payment for war-stores should be made, in accordance with the law of 1873, in State credit notes instead of cash. He assumes a metal reserve of 65,000,000*l.* (the stock of gold held by the Reichsbank on June 30 was only 36,710,000*l.*, but in addition to this there was a large amount of silver), and, adding the war-treasure of 6,000,000*l.* at Spandau, he assumes that the metal reserve would admit of the issue of 138,000,000*l.* of new notes, which would amply cover the estimated expenditure during the first six weeks. As a measure for the protection of the Reichsbank, Dr Riesser urges that bank-notes should be made legal tender, and that the people should be habituated to the use of small notes in substitution for gold. If these measures be adopted, Dr Riesser believes that the war panic would have subsided before any appeal would have to be made to the German people to subscribe a war loan.

An interesting statement dealing with the same question was made by the Austrian Minister for National Defence in the Reichsrath on April 22 last. The Minister announced in the course of his speech that the cost of a future campaign for Austria-Hungary must be reckoned at 10s. per man per day, without counting pensions for the disabled and for widows and orphans, or the provision of weapons, ammunition, and material, or any provision for indemnities for losses. He added, 'If we assume a war lasting for six months and two millions of men called up, the cost would be about 180,000,000l.'

It is quite in keeping with the national characteristics of the German people that they should have studied the question of war finance much more closely than the people of this country; but the exigencies of their financial position render it almost inevitable that their plans of campaign should be based upon the assumption of the very rapid conduct of future wars.

It is obvious that our credit system could be seriously threatened only in the event of war with a great naval Power or a combination of naval Powers; and, as an illustration of the probable cost of war under modern financial conditions, it will be desirable to consider, so far as is practicable, some of the financial consequences to this country of a war with one or more of the great continental Powers, (a) in the event of our arms proving successful, and (b) in the event of our defeat on the sea and the invasion of Great Britain. In the first place it is necessary to frame an estimate of the direct cost of the naval and military operations. A very large amount would be required for the mobilisation of the navy and the army, including the Territorial Army; and vast sums would have to be expended upon coal, ammunition, foodstuffs, stores, material, and transport. It is also practically certain that a huge programme of naval construction would be at once entered upon. There would also probably have to be a very considerable outlay upon all our naval and coaling stations abroad. The expenditure upon these objects during the first three months of war could not well be kept below 100,000,000l., and might largely exceed this sum. The duration of the war would, of course, materially affect the total amount

of the naval and military expenditure; but, in the light of modern experience, it does not appear that such a war could be much prolonged, and nine months would probably be a reasonable period to anticipate for the duration of hostilities. If this were so, the direct cost of the military and naval operations, including indemnities to British shipping, might be expected to amount to not less than 300,000,000*l.* In addition, provision would have to be made for the re-establishment of the materials of war, and also for pensions for wounded and for widows and orphans. The rebuilding of the fleet alone might require 100,000,000*l.*

But the indirect losses which would result from such a conflict would be very much greater than the naval and military expenditure. In order to realise the effect which a great war would have upon the internal and external trade of this country, it is necessary in the first place to review the present position of our trade balance. There are so many factors for which rough estimates only can be formed, that it is impossible to submit a precise balance sheet; but, from a careful examination of all the data available, it may be claimed that the following statement contains an approximate representation of the figures for the year 1909.

<i>Credits.</i>		<i>£</i>
Exports of commodities and specie		529,778,000
Less estimated amount of capital invested abroad during the year 1909		130,000,000
Net exports		399,778,000
Earnings of British shipping		90,000,000
Gross earnings of British banking and mercantile houses, insurance companies, etc., carrying on business abroad		50,000,000
Total credits		539,778,000

<i>Debits.</i>		<i>£</i>
Imports of commodities and specie		691,246,000
Less estimated income from investments abroad		170,000,000
Net imports		521,246,000
Interest on British securities held by foreign investors and earnings of foreign banking and mercantile houses carrying on business in the United Kingdom		15,000,000
Total debits		536,246,000

Some explanation with regard to the bases upon which certain of the above estimates have been framed may be submitted. The amount of capital estimated to have been invested abroad during 1909 is much smaller than that given by some of the authorities. The 'Economist,' for example, places the amount at 163,675,000*l.*, and the 'Statist' at 182,422,000*l.* But these figures only represent the total amounts offered for subscription in London; and deductions must be made from these totals on the grounds (a) that a substantial proportion of the aggregate was merely applied to the payment of old loans, and therefore did not increase the indebtedness of foreign countries or of our colonies to London; and (b) that it is becoming a growing practice with foreigners to make application for new issues, offered for subscription in London, through the London branches of their own banks; thus part of the total offered may have been subscribed on foreign account. Due allowance must also be made for the fact that a substantial proportion of all the new issues made in London on colonial and foreign account during 1909 was not exported in any shape or form within that year, and will in all probability in some cases remain in London for a considerable period to the credit of the colony or foreign country for which they are ultimately destined. Under this heading also allowance must be made for the purchases on foreign account of existing British securities effected during the twelve months.

The amount estimated to represent the earnings of British shipping appears large, but it is really a moderate one. As is generally known, we do considerably more than half the marine carrying trade of the world; and six months ago a leading member of the Government stated that our earnings from this source amount to about 100,000,000*l.* per annum. The year 1909 was by no means a good one for shipping generally, and an estimate of 90,000,000*l.* is therefore submitted.

The estimate of 50,000,000*l.* as representing the earnings of British banking and mercantile houses, insurance companies, etc., carrying on business abroad, has to some extent been arrived at from an examination of the reports of the various Anglo-foreign and Anglo-colonial

banks, insurance companies, etc. It includes commissions earned on the underwriting and placing of new issues, and the earnings of bankers and bill-brokers in connexion with the financing of foreign trade. Some idea of the extent to which the credit of British bankers is employed in financing international trade may be gathered from the paper by Mr Fred. Huth Jackson entitled 'The Draft on London' (1904), in which it is estimated that out of an annual total of 1400 millions sterling of drafts on London, 900 millions were foreign bills and 500 millions inland bills. He further estimated that of the 900 millions of foreign bills, 500 millions were foreign bills drawn abroad on foreign account, and 400 millions for bills drawn abroad on British account.

Turning to the debits, the amount estimated as representing the income derived by this country from her investments abroad may perhaps be considered unduly large; but, from a careful examination of all the data available, the writer is satisfied that the actual income from this source cannot be less than the amount suggested. There is not sufficient space available to go into all the evidence bearing upon this great question; but it may be pointed out that the income from abroad for the year ending March 1909, which was earmarked by the Commissioners for Inland Revenue, was 88,837,393*l.*, and that during the preceding five years it had been increasing at the average rate of 4,600,000*l.* per annum. But, as the Commissioners point out in their report, this earmarked income only covers part of the revenue derived by British subjects from their investments abroad; moreover, it does not comprise income derived from mines, gasworks, waterworks, tramways, breweries, tea, coffee and rubber plantations, nitrate grounds, oil-fields, land and financial companies, electric telegraph cables, shipping, foreign and colonial banks and insurance companies, and mortgages on property and other loans. The evidence available points to the conclusion that the income from the sources which are not earmarked by the Commissioners for Inland Revenue approximates to that of which they take direct cognisance; and, of course, the non-earmarked income is included in their returns under the general head of 'businesses, professions, etc., not otherwise detailed.'

As to the estimate of 15,000,000*l.* for the interest which this country has to pay foreign countries in respect of their holding of British and Anglo-foreign and Anglo-colonial securities, and for the earnings of foreign banks and financial institutions carrying on business in this country, it may be said that almost every trading country of the world is represented by a bank or banks in London; and that, in order to maintain the liquidity of their resources, each of these institutions is probably a holder of British securities. The aggregate total thus attained must represent a very large sum. Again, the individual investors in foreign countries, notably, France, Germany, Austria, Belgium and Russia, are large holders of British securities; and the foreign banks and finance houses employ large sums of money in the London short loan market.

The rough balance sheet submitted above does not exhaust all the items which enter into and form part of the trade balance of this country. It may be assumed, however, that the earnings of British subjects abroad balance the earnings of foreign subjects carrying on business in this country; and that the expenditure of British tourists abroad will roughly balance the expenditure of colonial and foreign tourists in this country. There are certain other items which enter into the adjustment of the trade balance, such as the imports and exports of precious stones, the earnings of the fishing fleets, etc., but they would not materially affect the total.

War with Germany would have a disastrous effect, for a time at least, on the foreign trade of this country. Germany is one of our best customers; and the annual value of the direct trade between the two countries is about 100,000,000*l.* The whole of this trade might not be lost during the war period. It is quite possible that a large proportion might be diverted to French, Dutch and Belgian ports. During the Spanish-American war commercial intercourse between the two countries was to a large extent maintained through Paris and London. It must, however, be remembered that the law of nations prohibits all intercourse between the subjects of belligerents which is inconsistent with the state of war between their countries. This includes any act or contract which tends to increase the

enemy's resources, and every kind of trading or commercial dealing, either directly or through third parties. Moreover, it may be taken for granted that the general condition of the North Sea during such a conflict would render its navigation by the merchant vessels of neutral Powers almost impossible. The reaction which the suspension of trade with Germany would have upon our other export trades may be to some extent gathered from a consideration of the triangulation of trade; and for an illustration of this it will be convenient to take our trade with India and Germany. In 1908 we purchased commodities from Germany to the value of 55,000,000*l.* Germany purchased commodities from India to the value of 9,900,000*l.*, while India purchased commodities from the United Kingdom to the extent of 50,800,000*l.* If we suspended the purchase of commodities from Germany, her purchasing power in India must be curtailed; and it is certain that under such circumstances we should restrict her foreign trade as much as possible. It is more than probable, therefore, that India's purchasing power in our markets would be greatly impaired. The same influence would restrict the purchasing power in our markets of all the countries of the world which have trading relations with the German Empire. Having regard, then, to the interdependence of the trade and finance of the world, it seems not improbable that during the first twelve months after the outbreak of such a conflict a shrinking in the volume of our foreign trade to the extent of from 150,000,000*l.* to 250,000,000*l.* might be looked for. The extent and duration of the shrinkage would, of course, be largely dependent upon the course of events and upon the ability of our mercantile marine to keep the sea.

A further source of indirect loss which would result from any serious war would be the collapse of credit and the depreciation in the value of Stock Exchange and other securities and investments. In a remarkable article entitled 'Consols in a great war' written in June 1899, when Consols stood at 110, the late Sir Robert Giffen expressed the opinion that at the beginning of a great war the price of first-class securities would decline by about 15 per cent. He further expressed the view that, owing to the market for Consols being at that time

artificial, the fall in that security would probably be greater, that, in fact, the premium (of 10 per cent.) would disappear, and that a further decline of as much as 15 per cent. might be looked for, which would bring the price down to 85. The South African war commenced five months after that paper was written; and the extraordinary accuracy of the late Sir Robert Giffen's estimates has been demonstrated by the course of the Consols market since then.

On the eve of the Franco-German war French 3 per cents were quoted on the Paris Bourse at 73. On the declaration of war the price fell to 66; and a few weeks later, when it was apparent that the successes of the German army had opened the door to the invasion of France, the price fell to 54½. At the same time the price of the principal French railway stocks fell to the extent of upwards of 20 per cent.; and there was practically no real recovery from this low level until eighteen months after the conclusion of peace.

The nominal value of all the securities quoted in the official list of the London Stock Exchange at the end of 1909 was 10,200,273,000£. Of this total 3,019,000,000£. represented foreign government stocks, which are, of course, largely held abroad as well as in this country. The nominal value of American railway securities quoted in the list was 1,500,000,000£.; and here, again, allowance must be made for the fact that a substantial proportion of this total is held outside the United Kingdom. On the other hand, it must be recognised that British investors hold vast amounts of British and foreign securities which are not quoted in the London Stock Exchange List; and, in view of all the circumstances, it will be a reasonable estimate to place the aggregate nominal value of the fixed capital issues held in this country at not less than 8,000,000,000£. Now, if an average decline of only 10 per cent. took place in the market value of all these securities, it will be apparent that the total depreciation would amount to 800,000,000£. It is probable that, if our arms were immediately and decisively successful, this depreciation might be of a temporary character, and that within twelve or eighteen months prices would return to a normal level; but an immense amount of loss and suffering would be inflicted upon all persons who had

money engagements open at the time of the outbreak of war.

A war with a naval Power would have a disastrous effect upon our shipping industry. Even if the success of our naval forces were quickly established, and our mercantile fleet ran no danger of capture by the ships of the enemy, the collapse of credit which would follow the declaration of war would result in a vast shrinkage in the volume of international trade, with a corresponding diminution in the earnings of our merchant shipping. For similar reasons the earnings of our banking and mercantile houses would be greatly reduced. There would be less trade to be financed, and our credit would be more or less impaired.

It must not be forgotten that, if our naval supremacy were endangered, there would be grave risk of a wholesale transference of British shipping to neutral flags. It would be a serious matter for this country if transfers were to take place upon a considerable scale. Such transfers, once made, would be likely to prove permanent, and they would involve more than the actual loss of the ships, because there is always a strong tendency to determine the home port by the flag. It has been plainly intimated that the Admiralty have no intention of providing convoys for merchant shipping in time of war; and it should, therefore, not be overlooked that an attack upon commerce on a large scale might take place before the question of naval predominance had been settled. The capture of a few Atlantic liners would have a disastrous effect on freights and insurance rates.

The experience of American shipping during the Civil War throws some light upon this question. It is generally believed that the Confederate cruisers drove American shipping from the ocean. This is not quite an accurate expression of the facts. It is true that during the war the tonnage of American shipping decreased from 2,600,000 to 1,600,000 tons; but this was not entirely due to the Confederate cruisers. The American shipowners were handicapped in their competition with foreigners by a war risk which increased the cost of working to an impossible figure; and they sold their vessels at high war prices to foreigners and invested their money in more profitable enterprises at home. British shipowners are

finding it a difficult matter to hold their own in times of peace; and it is obvious that under war conditions their difficulties would be considerably increased. Attention may be directed to the somewhat curious fact that even war with a non-naval power has an unfavourable effect on our shipping industry. During the South African war there was a considerable decrease in the proportion of British tonnage passing through the Suez Canal, while at the same time there was a marked expansion in the volume of German shipping making use of this waterway; and we have not yet recovered the ground then lost.

It is quite impossible to attempt to gauge the monetary loss which this country would suffer if our navy were defeated and the enemy obtained command of the sea. For 800 years England has not suffered invasion, and 260 years have elapsed since the last battle was fought on her soil; while practically a century has passed since we were involved in a war in which our merchant shipping was menaced. If Great Britain were invaded, it is difficult to believe that our credit system would survive the shock; and the whole fabric of international credit would collapse. It may be recalled that, although in 1871 Germany agreed to an indemnity of 200,000,000*l.*, the sum originally demanded from France was 500,000,000*l.*; and, had Bismarck fully realised the wealth of France and her power of recuperation, it is extremely probable that he would have insisted upon his original demand. If Germany conquered the richest country in the world, what indemnity might she be expected to demand?

It is true that a war with Great Britain, if unsuccessful, would involve enormous losses to the German people; but well-known German economists are of opinion that Germany is better organised for war than Great Britain on the commercial as well as the military side. They also claim, and with good reason, that Germany would be able to conduct such a war more economically than Great Britain. A very large amount of British capital is employed in financing the trade of the German Empire; and the economic ties which bind the two countries are of the most intimate character. A rupture of these relations would prove disastrous to both countries; and, while it is difficult to believe that there would be any

wholesale repudiation of indebtedness on the part of Germany, there would certainly be a suspension of direct financial relations during the war period. It is possible that Germany could stand the strain of a short conflict with a smaller amount of suffering to the bulk of her people, because of the great proportion of her population which is engaged in agriculture. But for a long conflict it is probable that the position might be reversed, in view of the fact that our financial resources are so much greater than those of Germany. The organisation of the German banking system is not nearly so sound as that of this country. British bankers habitually keep their assets in a much more liquid form, and they take care to avoid business of a risky sort, which is freely accepted by German banks. But it is difficult to imagine that Germany would embark upon a conflict which promised to be of long duration. Her Prussian rulers are not in the habit of making war unless they are practically certain of immediate success.

There is a large and influential school of thinkers in this country who believe that the interdependence of the principal financial centres of the world has become so great that war between two of the leading commercial Powers, such as Great Britain and Germany, has become almost impossible, because the losses which the successful Power would sustain would far exceed any advantages which it would be possible for her to derive from her naval or military victories; and, with the general recognition of this fact, they believe that the chief motive for the aggression of one nation upon another will disappear. It is true that the ramifications of international finance have never been greater than at the present time, and that economic considerations exercise an enormous influence upon international politics. It is indeed a matter for congratulation that the relations of the Great Powers are subject to a steadying influence of such potency. At the same time it would be a fatal mistake, from an economic as well as a national point of view, to accept the doctrine of the economic futility of political force.

One of the most able exponents of this school, Mr Norman Angell, has expressed his views in an ingenious book entitled 'Europe's Optical Illusion.' In the first

place Mr Angell assumes that the burden of armaments is excessive, and that armaments lead to war. Now, the national income of the United Kingdom is about 2,000,000,000*l.* per annum; and our expenditure on armaments amounts to approximately 70,000,000*l.* per annum, equivalent to, say, 3½ per cent. of the national income. The burden of civil expenditure and local taxation may be fairly described as oppressive; but to speak of a charge of 3½ per cent. as an excessive amount to allocate for the purpose of national defence appears to be an extraordinary view to take of the situation. The disposition to regard our expenditure on armaments as excessive is a tradition which has been handed down from the times of the Napoleonic wars, when nearly one-third of the entire national income was absorbed by war charges. Another aspect of this matter, which appears to be entirely overlooked, is the economic importance of the expenditure on armaments. Our engineering and ship-building industries are largely dependent upon the extent of the annual shipbuilding programmes; and any substantial curtailment of such expenditure would mean distress and loss of employment in important industrial centres, such as Glasgow, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Sheffield, Barrow, etc. The cutting-down of army expenditure would have an equally injurious effect on many important manufacturing centres in Yorkshire and the Midlands.

At a recent banquet at the Mansion House, the Chancellor of the Exchequer said he regarded the growth of expenditure on armaments throughout the world as a great and growing misfortune. He remarked that twenty years ago our national bill for armaments was 30,000,000*l.*; to-day it was 70,000,000*l.* The countries of the world, he pointed out, are spending 450,000,000*l.* annually upon this machinery of destruction; and in twenty years there has been an increase of 200,000,000*l.* In making these striking comparisons, Mr Lloyd George appears to have omitted to add that, during the twenty years referred to, there has been an enormous increase in the national wealth and income and also in the volume of international trade, with the result that in all probability the burden of taxation for armaments is relatively little larger than it was twenty years ago. During the quinquennial periods 1885-9 and 1905-9 the average

annual value of the foreign trade of the United Kingdom has grown from 696,500,000*l.* to 1,055,000,000*l.*; that of France from 298,300,000*l.* to 430,500,000*l.*; that of Germany from 310,900,000*l.* to 699,400,000*l.* The national wealth of Germany has grown enormously in the past twenty years; and the general recognition of the stimulating effect which the increased naval expenditure has had upon the engineering and shipbuilding industries of the Empire is, to some extent, responsible for the complacency with which her people regard the additional burden of taxation thrown upon them. It is worthy of notice also that a similar economic result is being experienced in Austria in connexion with the Austro-Hungarian shipbuilding programme. The argument that armaments lead to war is sufficiently met by pointing to the fact that for forty years there has been no war of the unlimited liability type, although the world's expenditure on armaments has more than doubled during that period.

Mr Angell maintains that defeat cannot in the long run involve economic injury to the conquered country, and that victory cannot confer any economic advantage to the victor. A study of the economic history of the Franco-German war furnishes a complete denial to this statement. The economic development of Germany and the comparative stagnation of France since 1870 are universally recognised; and, apart from the indemnity exacted from France, it must be borne in mind that Germany refused to accept responsibility for a proportionate share of the French national debt in respect of the two provinces which she obtained. The acute depression of the textile trade of Barcelona, following the loss of the markets of Cuba and the Philippines, affords a more recent example of one of the economic consequences of defeat.

Another paradox of Mr Angell's is that, the more a nation's wealth is protected, the less secure does it become. He seeks to establish this conclusion by a comparison of the credits enjoyed by the different European Powers. The 3 per cents of powerful Germany, he points out, are quoted at 82, while the 3 per cents of powerless Belgium are quoted at 96. The 3½ per cents of the Russian Empire are quoted at 81; while the 3½ per cents of

Norway are quoted at 102. Mr Angell does not appear to have fully perceived the influence which Europe's guarantee of the neutrality of Belgium, and practically of Norway as well, has had upon the credit of these two Powers. The economic effectiveness of these guarantees is great because it reflects the magnitude of the political influence, or the armaments, possessed by the Powers which would enforce the guarantee in case of need. As a matter of fact, it will be found that the credit of every European Power has improved to an appreciable extent during the past ten years, concurrently with an increase to the extent of nearly fifty per cent. in the aggregate volume of their expenditure upon armaments. The ground upon which Mr Angell has based his conclusion is insecure and one which is open to misuse, because the relation between credit and political power is not always closely established; but the fallacy of the argument is illustrated by the fact that the credit of the Power (Great Britain) which expends more than any other country upon the protection of its wealth is greater than that of any of the so-called powerless but guaranteed Governments.

Mr Angell asserts that 'no nation could gain any advantage by the conquest of the British Colonies, and Great Britain could not suffer material damage by their loss.' This statement cannot be allowed to pass unchallenged. In the first place, the Colonies could only be wrested from us after a crushing defeat—defeat in a war which could not cost less than 1,000,000,000*l.* Again, this country has invested upwards of 1,700,000,000*l.* in its oversea dominions, and an equal amount in foreign countries; and practically the whole of this enormous sum would be in jeopardy. If we allow our relative position in armaments to decline and our political power to diminish accordingly, what may we expect to become of the 500,000,000*l.* of British capital invested in India and the 150,000,000*l.* invested in Egypt? It must also be remembered that the British Colonies provide a field for the employment of thousands of Englishmen not only of the emigrant type, but engineers, planters, managers, civil servants, etc. Can it be maintained that there would be no economic loss to Great Britain if this area of employment were restricted?

Mr Angell assumes that in future wars will be based mainly upon considerations of material interest. This again would be a dangerous proposition to accept. In Moltke's book on the Franco-German war there is a notable passage in which he refers to the Austro-Prussian conflict of 1866 in the following words:—

'The war of 1866 was entered into not because the existence of Prussia was threatened nor in obedience to public opinion and the voice of the people; it was a struggle long foreseen and calmly prepared for, recognised as a necessity by the Cabinet, not for territorial aggrandisement or material advantage, but for an ideal end—the establishment of power. Not a foot of land was exacted from conquered Austria, but it had to renounce all part in the hegemony of Germany.'

It is a serious matter for this country that a great and rich Empire, which has mastered the art of military warfare and which is animated by ideals such as these, should have devoted itself with characteristic thoroughness to the acquisition of great naval power; and it would be an economic as well as a political mistake of the first magnitude for Great Britain to attempt to restrict the natural increase of its expenditure on naval armaments in the face of such a challenge.

The international credit system has been developed with London as its centre, on the assumption of the naval predominance of Great Britain; and, if we lose our predominance, our credit must be impaired and perhaps ultimately destroyed. The magnitude of the economic interests which depend upon our naval supremacy would be difficult to exaggerate; and 70,000,000*l.* per annum is a comparatively small price to pay for the protection of these interests, which include 100,000,000*l.* a year from our share of the world's carrying trade, 170,000,000*l.* a year from our investments abroad, and 50,000,000*l.* a year from our international banking business.

The problem of financial preparation for war is one of great complexity and one which requires profound deliberation. It will not suffice merely to strengthen our gold-reserves; the question must be approached from all sides; and this could best be accomplished by the appointment of a Royal Commission on the supply of credit in

time of war. Another measure of protection which is immediately practicable is the strengthening of the Committee of Imperial Defence on the financial side.

This Committee is an advisory and not an executive body. Its primary business is to study and determine what is the best provision that can from time to time be made for the naval and military requirements of the Empire as a whole. In theory, it sits purely to advise the Prime Minister. He nominates its members and can add to or diminish the number at his own will, and in accordance with the particular problems which for the time being demand investigation. The Committee consists of six Cabinet Ministers in addition to the Prime Minister, namely, the four Secretaries of State (exclusive of the Home Secretary), the First Lord of the Admiralty, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It includes also the First Sea Lord and the Director of Naval Intelligence, as representing the Navy; and, as representing the Army, the Chief of the General Staff, the Director of Military Operations, and the General Officer Commanding-in-Chief in the Mediterranean. In addition to these official members the Committee has the services and co-operation of the Inspector-General of the Forces (Sir John French), of Lord Esher, and Admiral of the Fleet Lord Fisher. The most striking feature in the constitution of the Committee is the absence of any representatives of the banking, commercial, and shipping interests of the Empire. Considering the importance of these interests, and their intimate connexion with matters of peace and war, it would surely not weaken the influence and authority of the Committee if the Prime Minister invited, say, the President of the Institute of Bankers, the President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom, and the President of the Chamber of Shipping, to attend the deliberations of a body which is primarily responsible for the defence of the Empire.

EDGAR CRAMMOND.

Art. 2.—FOUR GREAT COLLECTIONS.

1. *The Royal Collection of Paintings at Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle.* With an introduction and descriptive text by Lionel Cust. 2 vols. London: Heinemann, 1905-06.
2. *Wilton House Pictures.* With an introduction by Sidney Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, and a history of Wilton House and other matters by Captain Nevile R. Wilkinson. 2 vols. London: Chiswick Press, 1907.
3. *Catalogue of the Pictures in the Collection of the Earl of Radnor.* By Helen Matilda, Countess of Radnor, and William Barclay Squire, with a preface by Jacob, sixth Earl of Radnor. 2 vols. London: Chiswick Press, 1909.
4. *The Mond Collection, an Appreciation.* By J. P. Richter, Ph.D. 2 vols. London: Murray, 1910.

BEFORE the days of photography few illustrated catalogues of great collections of paintings were published. In recent years, however, the new means placed at our disposal permit even sale-catalogues to be splendidly illustrated. Catalogues of the great collections have been issued in a fairly steady stream during recent years. The Kann and Martin Le Roy collections in France, the Kaufmann and Lutzschina collections in Germany, the Widener and Elkins collections in America, the Crespi Gallery at Milan, are some of those in foreign countries which have thus been put on record and rendered accessible to students. In this enterprise England has not been behindhand. The Wantage collection was thus published in 1905; a catalogue of the Northbrook collection was edited by Mr W. H. James Weale; two splendid volumes illustrating selected pictures at Windsor and Buckingham Palace were issued in 1906 at the command of King Edward; complete catalogues of the Wilton House and Longford Castle Galleries were published in 1907 and 1909; and now Dr Richter has poured forth his stores of erudition in an illustrated account of the Mond collection.

To produce a really valuable catalogue of this kind is no easy matter, altogether apart from the question of the illustrations. It should be a work of ripe scholarship;

and ripe scholars who have leisure for such prolonged and discursive investigations are none too numerous. To Mr Lionel Cust, Surveyor of the King's Pictures, naturally fell the task of preparing the text for the volumes on Buckingham Palace and Windsor. He was familiar with the pictures themselves and had had repeated opportunities of discussing the various related problems, artistic and historical, with the many students, English and foreign, who had made acquaintance with the collections under his guidance. The Wilton House catalogue was written by Captain Nevile Wilkinson, now Ulster King at Arms, whose family connexion with their owner not only gave him access to all the papers relating to the formation of the gallery, but had, of course, rendered him familiar with the works themselves. He also was able to avail himself of the help of many other experts of various countries; and, being himself free from prejudice, he thus produced the very complete and scholarly work now under review. His volumes, moreover, besides being finely printed at the Chiswick Press, are adorned with a tasteful set of headings, tail-pieces, and initials of his own design, many of them aptly and entertainingly heraldic. The Longford Castle gallery is described by Helen Countess of Radnor and Mr Barclay Squire. It may be assumed that the domestic history of the various works and the details of family history recorded in connexion with the portraits are contributions by Lady Radnor, whilst researches into authorship and the like were Mr Squire's share. In this task he was aided by a valuable series of articles on the subject in 'The Art Journal' from the pen of Mr Claude Phillips.

The King's pictures are arranged according to schools, one volume being devoted to Buckingham Palace, the other to Windsor. Captain Wilkinson has chosen an alphabetical order under the names of the artists. More convenient and lucid is the order adopted for Longford, where the family portraits are separated from the other pictures and arranged in chronological order, so that the volume containing them forms a richly illustrated family history which can be read with interest quite apart from the artistic value of the works described. The Mond catalogue has another character of its own, the collec-

tion itself having been formed on a definite scheme and within a few years' span by the scholar who describes it.

The first three catalogues are, and are intended primarily to be, books finely and profusely illustrated. A word, therefore, must first be said about their illustrations. Those of the King's pictures done by the 'Rembrandt' process are certainly the most brilliant; indeed it would scarcely be possible to surpass them as veracious translations of coloured paintings into black and white. But this process is best suited for use where a considerable number of impressions is required; and only so large a sale as might reasonably be expected for a royal collection of national importance could surely warrant the expense of such a publication as this. The Wilton and Longford catalogues contain photogravures of good quality, though here and there a plate leaves something to be desired. On the whole, however, there is much to be thankful for and little to complain of, so that a sense of gratitude will abide toward the noble owners who have so spiritedly placed their possessions within reach of all lovers of art. The French photogravures in the Mond catalogue are not so good.

The King's pictures form, in fact, a single collection, whether housed at Buckingham Palace, Windsor, Hampton Court, Holyrood, St James's Palace, Kensington Palace, or Osborne House. After the death of Queen Victoria many of them were moved from one of these places to another in the wisely considered redistribution ordered by King Edward. During this process a number of important works came to light and were given honourable positions, whilst others of minor or negative merit received the treatment they deserved.

The history of the collection is briefly set forth in Mr Cust's introduction. It begins with the pictures belonging to the Crown so far back as the days of Henry VIII, very few of which have survived. Numerous portraits and other pictures were acquired by the later Tudor Sovereigns, but singularly few of them were of much merit. The first royal collector of taste and discernment was Henry Prince of Wales; his pictures formed the foundation of the marvellous assemblage of works of art brought together by Charles I and dispersed by Cromwell. The story of that dispersion is well

known; but Mr Cust gives prominence to a fact generally forgotten, namely, that the Commonwealth, if it inherited the King's treasures, was likewise responsible for his and the Queen's heavy debts, with an empty treasury to pay them. The collections were therefore sold, and for a sum equivalent nowadays to about a million sterling. It was an unmitigated disaster to this country, as events have proved. To-day the Louvre, the Prado, the Vienna Gallery and other great foreign collections boast amongst their greatest gems pictures which once belonged to the English Crown. A considerable number of the less important works were brought together again by Charles II, but those of greatest value were gone for ever. A further misfortune overtook the collection in the days of William III. He removed to his palace in Holland several fine pictures belonging to the English Crown, and on his death the Dutch Government refused to give them up. Fires at Whitehall and in other English palaces took heavy toll from time to time; but, of course, acquisition was always going on to make good the waste. It was not, however, till the days of George IV that systematic collecting of beautiful things for the sake of their beauty, and not merely as personal records, once more set in. Both as Prince of Wales and as King he was a wise and successful, though also an extravagant, collector. Further important additions to the library and collections were made by the Prince Consort, and they now practically remain as he left them.

Mr Cust's volumes on the Buckingham Palace and Windsor pictures are not complete catalogues but merely a series of reproductions of selected pictures, in all 180 in number, accompanied by a critical and explanatory text. The selected works of the British school contain several modern paintings which need no further mention here. Beginning, then, with the Van Dycks, which are all at Windsor, we are brought at once face to face with Charles I and his family. Here is the family group painted in 1632, shortly after Van Dyck's arrival in England; here also is the King on horseback, done in the following year and so frequently copied; here is the King in robes of state of 1636, as well as the bust in three positions painted to be sent to Bernini as the model for that sculptor to work from.

These are the pictures upon which rests the modern sentiment of tenderness surrounding the memory of that unfortunate monarch. Three portraits of the Queen were likewise painted by Van Dyck to be sent to Bernini. Of these, two are at Windsor. Henrietta Maria might well be satisfied to leave to future ages so charming a memorial of herself as the Windsor profile. Who does not remember the delightful groups of the royal children, whereof so many copies are scattered abroad in the galleries and private collections of Europe? The originals of two of these are in our royal collection. Of other famous Van Dycks at Windsor it suffices to name the fair 'Beatrice de Cusance' and the grave 'Thomas Killigrew.'

Hogarth's portrait of Garrick and his wife is a more legitimately English picture than are the Van Dycks, and in their presence it has no need to be ashamed. For brightness of fancy, sympathetic rendering of the subject, and solid excellence of durable painting it must always take high rank amongst the finest portraits of the eighteenth century. There is another Garrick at Windsor by Reynolds—a Rembrandtesque half-length of him in the part of 'Kitely.' Reynolds is likewise represented by several other canvases, whereof the best are 'Lord Erskine' at Windsor and the 'Marquess of Rockingham' at Buckingham Palace, both gifts to George IV when Prince of Wales. Reynolds was not a court-favourite in the days of George III. Gainsborough had that luck, so that the royal collections contain far more numerous specimens of his work than of his rival's. Who that has ever seen them can forget the delightful series of fifteen small oval portraits of members of the Royal Family painted by him in 1782, which used to hang in Queen Charlotte's rooms at Kew and are now at Windsor in Queen Victoria's small audience-room? Then there is 'The Mall,' that charming open-air picture of the Duke and Duchess of Cumberland in Queen Alexandra's private sitting-room — one of Gainsborough's most attractive canvases, where people, costumes, and landscape all blend together in a decorative whole. Dobson, Cotes, Hoppner, Zoffany and many more are among the selected artists whose works Mr Cust has caused to be reproduced. There is likewise a famous set of Lawrences, splendid examples of his art as well as portraits of very remark-

able men — Mr Pitt, Sir Walter Scott, the Marquess Wellesley, Metternich, Gentz, Pius VII, and so forth.

The only important German picture at Buckingham Palace is an altar-piece by Cranach. At Windsor Holbein is supreme. The splendid series of his drawings is outside the scope of the present publication, but four notable portrait-paintings are finely reproduced. In vain do we look for likenesses by him of Henry VIII or of his Queens or of his children, in the royal collections. There they must once have existed, but all have been carried away or else destroyed. But here is Sir Henry Guldeford, Comptroller of the Household (and he looks it); and the Duke of Norfolk, uncle to Henry's two beheaded Queens; though one and perhaps both of these pictures were relatively late acquisitions. As for Derick Born and John of Antwerp, they are the only survivors of the many Holbeins that belonged to Charles I, so that of all the work done by Holbein for Henry VIII practically nothing has remained in the royal collections unless it be the miniatures.

If the portraits of the time of Henry VII and his immediate predecessors had been preserved, there would surely have been amongst them some precious works of the primitive Flemish or Anglo-Flemish schools; but alas! there are none. There is indeed a respectable picture of the Virgin and Saints by a follower of Memling, and a triptych identified by Dr Hulin as by that rare master Jan Prevost; but the first was bought by Prince Albert, whilst the second was in Charles I's collection. Some excellent Antwerp school portraits of the early sixteenth century stand on a higher level. One is called 'Linacre' and ascribed to Matsys; and there is an admirable pair by Sotte Cleef, who worked in England for a while. The greatest Fleming of the next century, Rubens, was a man after Charles I's own heart; and that King owned many a fine example of his handiwork. The splendid landscape of St George has wandered back and so has the painter's own portrait, whilst other fine examples of his work were added to them by George IV, amongst them two more notable landscapes.

The great Dutch school of the seventeenth century is admirably represented, especially at Buckingham

Palace. Windsor indeed can boast a couple of early Rembrandts; a famous Vermeer, and a few other good works, but the Buckingham Palace gallery puts these into the shade. Seven superb Rembrandts, including the 'Shipbuilder and his Wife' and an 'Adoration of the Magi' of his late period, were all acquired by George IV and testify to the soundness of his taste. He it was, likewise, who purchased one, if not both, of the portraits by Hals, several Gerard Dows, a Terburg, an excellent Maes, and two Metsus. To these we must add several Jan Steens and Ostades of high quality, and four admirable Peter de Hoochs, besides landscapes by Ruysdael, Hobbema, and the other well-known Dutchmen.

If there are any primitive Italian pictures in the royal collections it is thanks to the Prince Consort. The fine 'Crucifixion' by Duccio, the tender 'Madonna' doubtfully attributed to Fra Angelico, the central portion of an altar-piece by Gentile da Fabriano, a predella-panel by Benozzo, and a panel from an important altar-piece by that rare Florentine Pesellino are all pictures to be thankful for. When we come to the great Italian painters of the culminating period, the irreparable nature of the loss of Charles I's collection is most keenly felt. It is true that several good and even important Italian pictures from that collection are now in Hampton Court; but even so the number saved is small, and the losses are incalculable. King Charles was a keen admirer of Titian, yet only three works even attributed to him can be found in the two palaces for inclusion in these volumes; and one of these was acquired by George IV. One of the others is of more than doubtful authenticity, whilst the third is the beautiful 'Lovers,' which some would now ascribe to Giorgione, though Van Dyck, when he sketched it, recorded that it was by Titian. A fine portrait by Franciabigio at Windsor likewise comes from Charles I's collection, whilst another by Parmigiano is first mentioned in the list of the pictures of James II. In George III's time a portrait by Licinio was acquired, and numerous excellent landscapes by Canale, who spent some time in England. A fine man's portrait by Romanino bought by the Prince Consort completes the too short list of noteworthy Italian pictures selected for reproduction by Mr Cust.

Passing finally to examples of the work of the great French painters of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, we find nothing in English palaces to compare with those belonging to the German Emperor. Some Claudes there are—notably the ‘Rape of Europa’ at Buckingham Palace—besides an admirable Le Nain, bought by George IV, one of those half-Dutch, half-Italian interiors now so highly appreciated, but little esteemed when this picture was acquired. That the same king should have bought good Watteaus and Paters is less surprising. The wonder is that he did not buy more. The inevitable Greuze and Vigée-Lebrun lead on to the moderns, which lack of space prevents us from describing.

The chief glory of an English country-house, which has been for generations the principal seat of a wealthy and prominent family, should be its collection of family portraits; and for the common welfare it should be illegal, as contrary to public interest, to break up any such collection. The pictures, when kept together, are incomparably more interesting than the items can be when scattered abroad. The dispersion, for example, of the Townshend heirlooms to all parts of the world was a national disgrace. One of England's chief assets, in the midst of her growing kindred of young nations, is the fact that she is an old country. As such she possesses venerable institutions, ancient traditions, old buildings, and visible historical monuments of all kinds. Of high importance among these are the collections of family portraits gathered in the old family seats. In the interest of our national prestige among the younger English nations it is of the highest practical importance to maintain such collections intact. The publication of profusely illustrated catalogues of important private collections, such as those at Wilton and Longford, to which we must now turn, ought to have a conservative effect.

The Wilton House collection includes 320 paintings. As a collection it was mainly brought together in the first decade of the eighteenth century, though before and since that date there has been a steady accretion of family portraits. At the end of the catalogue is a painful list of pictures known to have been in the collection at one time or another and now lost.

The greatest, or at least the rarest, of the Wilton pictures is the charming diptych of Richard II, painted no one knows by whom. It is the fashion to ascribe it to a French artist, but there is no reason to assume that it is not English. The types of the angels are certainly English and not French. Existing English miniatures in manuscripts and such a wall-painting as that in the Bishop's Palace at Chichester, not to mention works in Westminster Abbey, at Norwich and elsewhere, show how high a level was attained by English painters in the fourteenth century. The painting of a young English king, commemorating a ceremonial enacted at Westminster, was almost certainly painted in England, and may be assumed to be the work of an English artist until evidence is produced to the contrary.

It is only possible here to refer in the briefest manner to a few of the most important pictures reproduced or mentioned in this lengthy catalogue. First among them in historical sequence is a genuine example of that rare Flemish painter Hugo van der Goes, whose masterpiece is familiar to all who have visited Florence. On a small panel, only thirteen inches square, is painted his favourite subject, the 'Adoration of the Shepherds,' which enabled him to introduce powerful studies of the heads and the characteristic hands of the Flemish peasants whom he must have loved to study. A somewhat later but scarcely less rare Dutch master is Jan van Scorel, by whom there is here an admirable portrait of a man declaiming some statement which he holds written in his hand.

A yet greater Dutch artist was Lucas van Leyden, the famous engraver, whose paintings are excessively rare. 'The Card-players' by him at Wilton belongs to an early period in his short career. Alike in choice of subject and in treatment Lucas here shows himself a conscious innovator. By such works he opened the way which was to lead to Rembrandt and the other great artists of a century latter.

Important pictures of the early Italian schools are not to be looked for in eighteenth-century collections. Wilton possesses a beautiful little panel of Judith with the head of Holofernes, which the critics find it hard to avoid attributing to Mantegna. A curious 'St Anthony' (obviously a portrait) in a romantic landscape, now

accepted as by Lorenzo Lotto, and a painstaking picture after a design by Michelangelo, may conclude the short list of notable Italians. The last mentioned belonged to Diane de Poitiers, for whom the frame was decorated; it is said to have been a gift to her from Henri II.

Gerard van Honthorst is not an artist of the first rank, but, if the Wilton portrait of Prince Rupert (or his brother) is really by him, he painted at least one first-rate picture. The ordinary run of his work is capable enough. When he first came to England there seemed to be a chance of his obtaining the popularity which was destined to belong to Van Dyck.

One early Rembrandt, a picture of his mother painted about 1629, is a precious example of his opening genius. It was painted just before he left home to settle in Amsterdam, and manifests already the great distinctive qualities of his style. Collectors in the eighteenth century were far more enamoured of the Flemings, Rubens and Van Dyck, than of this royal Dutchman, who has only really come into his kingdom in our own days. We are not surprised, therefore, to find at Wilton three pictures claiming the authorship of Rubens, but none of the first rank.

When we pass from Rubens to Van Dyck we come to a series of pictures which, as a group, are the chief glory of Wilton. Ten of them hang together in 'the Double Cube Room.' The proportion of the artist's own handiwork on the different canvases varies considerably. Most notable, not for its size only, is the famous Herbert family-piece—an embodiment of aristocratic distinction as understood in the seventeenth century. All the magnificence of its personages and all the glory of their attire and surroundings form nothing but a frame for the lovely face planted in the plumb-centre of the canvas—that of the little eleven-years-old bride Mary, only daughter of the assassinated Duke of Buckingham. The family, and even the cherub-souls of its dead members, are assembled to do honour to the little maid, and she is dressed in her prettiest for them and us. The portrait of the third Earl (Mr W. H.?) is a posthumous work. Among several beautiful ladies Mrs Killigrew (if it be really she) appeals with greatest charm alike in person and by the painter's art; whilst the brilliant sketch of a

nobleman on horseback—the Duc d'Epemon or another—conveys a more vivid impression of contact with the actual mind of the artist than is derived from any of the more finished works. It is, however, as a set that these pictures produce their great effect. They belong essentially together, and together they should always remain.

We have no space for more than the briefest mention of the eighteenth century English pictures. The best of these are the Reynolds', of which there are a goodly number, while, curiously enough, there is not a single Gainsborough or Romney. Patronage of the rival artists in those days tended to run in families; but few were so constant to a single artist as the owners of Wilton. If we had to choose amongst them we should take the three-quarter length portrait of the second Viscount Bolingbroke, a somewhat languid and disillusioned-looking person beautifully painted in a decorative landscape.

Passing now to the collection of pictures at Longford Castle, we are met at the outset by a remarkable series of family portraits, whereof the stem is a succession of likenesses, from father to son, of the head of the family, from the French refugee Laurens Desbouveries (ob. 1610), the founder of the English house, down to the present holder of the family honours. Around them are grouped the likenesses of their wives and younger children and other relations. The portrait of the founder is most interesting—the likeness of a man of infinite capacity and brightness of intelligence, painted by a meritorious artist. It is easy to understand how he came to prosper in the home of his adoption. His son suffers at the hands of a poorer painter. The grandson, a knight, is already visibly placed among the people whose reputation is firmly established. Sir William of the next generation is a baronet, painted by Kneller. Sir Jacob, his son, who was created Viscount Folkestone, still further loses his individuality under the brush of M. Dahl (1747), and two years later is a mere clothes-horse in Hudson's portrait of him. The second viscount was created Earl of Radnor and painted by Gainsborough in 1770, but before that date the family had employed Reynolds on four occasions between 1757 and 1769. Evidently they preferred

Gainsborough; and several more family pictures were supplied by him when at the top of his power. The second Earl employed Cosway, the third Madame Vigée-Lebrun. George Richmond painted that very notable character, the fourth Earl, whilst the fifth is portrayed by J. J. Shannon, and the sixth by G. F. Watts. In all there are 104 family portraits catalogued. Besides those we have mentioned, the group of six 'kit-cat' portraits by Gainsborough (paid for in 1774), and amongst the Reynolds' the famous Lady Catherine Pelham-Clinton as a little girl feeding chickens, are deserving of special mention. An interesting trio are the three portraits of Anne Countess of Radnor, painted respectively on her marriage in 1778 by Gainsborough, in 1787 by Reynolds, and in 1796 by Hoppner. No one would imagine that they depict the same person. The Reynolds looks the oldest, the Hoppner the youngest. The Gainsborough is the most graceful, the Hoppner the most animated. All are charming decorations for a drawing-room wall. None gives the impression of being a serious study of a human being.

Longford Castle is unusually rich in what are in common belief 'primitive' pictures. Among these is a good Flemish portrait of a man by some unidentified artist in the early years of the sixteenth century. Mabuse is represented by a contemporary copy of the three children of Christian II of Denmark—a picture curiously common in English collections. The original is at Hampton Court, and besides this Longford Castle copy there are others at Wilton and Sudeley and more besides. The Wilton example wrongly identifies the children as those of King Henry VII. This may have been the common belief, and may account for the otherwise inexplicable popularity of the picture in England.

But the most remarkable early Flemish picture at Longford is the triptych ascribed to Herri met de Bles, an early sixteenth century painter, to whom all sorts of pictures are attributed in different galleries. Whoever the painter of this may have been, he likewise painted an 'Adoration of the Magi' in the Brera at Milan, an important picture in Sir Frederick Cook's collection at Richmond, and a triptych in the Weber collection at Hamburg. Dr Friedländer, however, has the whole 'Bles question'

in hand; before long we may expect light to be shed by him on this perplexing group of pictures.

The famous portrait of Peter Egidius, painted by Quintin Matsys in 1517, originally formed part of a diptych of which the other wing depicted Erasmus. Till recently the Erasmus was only known from a copy at Hampton Court; but the original has now been indentified in a private collection in Rome. This Matsys portrait of Erasmus was evidently known to Holbein and influenced him when, in 1523, he in turn painted three portraits of this eminent scholar. Of these portraits one, perhaps the most important, is at Longford, while studies for the hands in it are among the drawings preserved in the Louvre.

We need not pause over the portrait of Mary Boleyn, doubtfully ascribed to Guillim Stretes, but perhaps closer in style to the works of Johannes Corvus. The likeness of Thomas Wyndham by Hans Eeuwowts is a far finer work. Pictures by this artist, whose name was till recently unknown, used to be ascribed to Lucas de Heere; now, thanks to Mr Lionel Cust, their true maker has come into his own, apparently too late for the text of the Longford Castle catalogue, but just in time for the naming of the plate.

To Marc Gheeraerts the younger is ascribed what is probably the most notable portrait existing of Queen Elizabeth. It is a head emerging out of a John Baptist's charger of ruff and bodice; but the head's the thing, an admirable and apparently veracious study of the aspect of the great Queen, with cold clear eye, firm mouth, intellectual brow, and keen expression.

The famous Elizabethan miniaturist and painter Nicholas Hilliard is represented by a priceless group of five miniatures, enclosed in ivory boxes within a small carved and gilt cabinet, a present given by the Queen to her maid of honour Lady Rich.

One of the most charming pictures at Longford is the full-length portrait by Rubens of his little son Frans, the same child who sits so prettily on the knees of his mother, Helena Fourment, in the well-known picture at Munich. Here, however, he is a few years older; and the picture must have been one of the last that Rubens painted. A more important and earlier work is the full-

length equestrian portrait of Archduke Albert, Governor of the Netherlands, the chief parts of which are by the artist's own hand. The Archduke and his wife were generous patrons of the great painter; and it was for them that he painted the splendid St Ildefonso altarpiece, now at Vienna. Longford possesses another portrait of the Archduke by Otto van Veen, a commonplace rendering of a benevolent-looking personage.

No English collection of the importance of Longford is without its group of Van Dycks. There is, of course, a portrait of Charles I, a school-piece, and a Henrietta Maria; but the Queen's picture is a brilliant work by the artist's own hand, and one of the very charming representations of a most royal and beautiful lady. Of kindred excellence is the 'Marie de Médicis,' a picture of which numerous versions are known. The brilliant full-length portrait of Gaston Duke of Orleans must at least be mentioned, and the no less admirable Countess of Monmouth; but the picture of a rearing dapple-grey horse will probably be remembered when these are forgotten. It is thought to have been the animal presented by Rubens to his pupil, on which Van Dyck rode away to Italy. The same horse appears in several of his pictures, always painted as though the artist loved him.

The Flemish landscape school of this period is well represented by a remarkable wide-angle view by the younger de Momper, standing, as it were, half-way between Patinir and Claude, a good example of classical landscape. There is also a landscape with figures by David Teniers the elder, in which the modern romantic spirit finds clear expression.

Passing to the Dutch painters of the seventeenth century, we come upon an admirable Avercamp, a shooting scene in which, as usual, the majority of the people turn their backs to the spectator. Good examples of Hobbema, Van der Neer, and Wynants should also be mentioned among the landscapes. The only Dutch portraits of conspicuous merit as pictures, belonging to the same period, are two roundels by Frans Hals painted in 1628, a Dutch burgher and his wife—very Dutch and very Hals. The man's head is a duplicate in pose and costume of the 'Theodor Schrevelius,' painted in the same year.

A numerous series of good solid likenesses at Longford come from the studio of M. Jz. van Miereveld, several of them depicting members of the House of Orange. These pictures exist in numerous replicas, and are always valuable possessions and full of personal and historical interest. This artist, however, was often at his best in dealing with less exalted personages; and his portrait of Sir Peter Young stands out from among the rest as a vivid and fresh rendering done direct from the life. A group of portraits of the same period is, of course, assigned to Cornelis Janssens, and some of them are no doubt by him. One is called the portrait of Joseph Taylor the actor. The same person and his wife are portrayed on two canvases in the Elkins collection at Philadelphia.

Chief among the Italians is the fine portrait by Sebastiano del Piombo of a lady said to be Giulia Gonzaga, Countess of Fondi. A picture of the same lady by the same artist is in Baron de Schlichting's collection and came originally from the Bandini Palace at Rome. In Rome it was known as 'Catarina Sforza,' but Venturi believes it to depict Catherine, sister of Vittoria Colonna. An opulent Paris Bordone, a portrait of a sculptor which may have come from his studio, and a charming imitation of Correggio, once confidently claimed as an original by him, complete the small group of Italian paintings. The seventeenth century French school provides two magnificent Claudes and two Nicholas Poussins of fine quality. But it is from Spain that perhaps the greatest of the Longford pictures comes—the renowned portrait of Juan de Pareja by Velasquez, a presentment as vivid as if revealed by lightning. Beside it Murillo's respectable 'Ruth and Naomi' seems like paint in comparison with reality.

The fourth collection on our list is that acquired by the late Dr Ludwig Mond in the last twenty years of the nineteenth century under the advice of Dr Richter. Dr Mond, during his lifetime, transferred four pictures to the National Gallery; and he made testamentary dispositions by which many of the pictures now to be discussed will come ultimately to the same public collection, whilst others are given to various foreign galleries. At the time of writing it is not authoritatively known

which pictures are to come to the English nation ; but it is much to be hoped that the Raphael, the Bellinis, the Titian, Mantegna, Montagna, Palma, Boltraffio, and at least the small Fra Bartolommeo, may be of the number.

Dr Richter explains the scientific, or quasi-scientific, Morellian method of testing the authenticity of old paintings, and implies that this appealed to Dr Mond's scientific mind. If the collection owes its existence to any such chance we have only to be thankful. The result, however arrived at, is both fine and important.

The collection itself is a great contrast to those we have been considering. It was brought together, as has been said, in a score of years, at a time when technical knowledge was ripening, and when centuries of neglect were ending. Here are no strings of family portraits, no combinations of bequeathed treasures, no mixtures of choice. One principle is supreme, the principle of historical and local representativeness.

It was well that the actual maker of the collection should be enabled to describe it and to support his choices with the reasons that governed them. As a rule the *provenance* of the pictures is given, and opportunities are taken to discuss the authenticity, the position in the artist's work, and other technical matters connected with each picture. Here and there an extensive excursus is introduced dealing with the latest discoveries about a particular master. In the case of some of the portraits valuable notices of the lives of the sitters have been industriously compiled.

With the exception of seven pictures, the Mond collection is entirely composed of works of the Italian school. Four Egypto-Roman portraits of about the second century A.D., a Cranach, a Murillo, and a very fine Rubens landscape, which belonged to Sir Joshua Reynolds, are the exceptions. The antique portraits are of a type now well known. It has been shown that the gold ornaments worn by the women belong to about the age of Septimius Severus.

Amongst the Italian schools represented, those of northern Italy, especially of Venice, are predominant. A dozen Tuscan pictures (including a Leonardo drawing) and five Umbrian are all that come from central Italian cities. The Florentines begin with a predella panel by a

recently identified 'primitive' painter, Giovanni del Ponte, a belated Giottist, contemporary with Masaccio. The great names open with Botticelli, by whose hand are two of a set of three decorative panels (the third being at Dresden) adorned with subjects from the legend of St Zenobius. Dr Richter, justly I think, would attribute these to a relatively early stage (c. 1470-80) in the artist's career. Each panel contains several pictures, which would have been more effective if painted on separate panels. The work of modern students of the Florentine school has not merely stripped the better known artists of many works formerly ascribed to them, but has grouped together a number of pictures as the work of one and another master not yet identifiable by name. For these unnamed ones, designations, usually awkward, have been devised. One such artist was the author of pictures which have been wrongly ascribed at different times to Verrocchio, Ghirlandaio, and the Pollaiuoli. Two of these pictures are favourite panels in our own National Collection—a Virgin and Child with angels and 'Raphael and Tobias.' To the same group Dr Richter refers a charming Virgin and Child in the Mond collection, a characteristically Florentine work of the early Renaissance period. No less interesting is his ascription of a profile portrait of a lady to another unknown painter of such profiles, to whom are now attributed the popular and much reproduced portrait at Poldi's in Milan, usually given to Piero della Francesca, and the similar portrait at Berlin, which the German authorities were inclined to place under the name of Domenico Veneziano. Dr Richter is no doubt right in grouping these three pictures together; before long we may expect the list to be considerably enlarged. His happy suggestion that the painter may have been a well-known medallist will not be lost sight of. A miniature painting by Fra Bartolommeo in his early days is one of the gems of the collection; but we cannot share Dr Richter's enthusiasm for the larger and later work by the same painter. An unusually charming picture by Bacchiacca shows a mixture of Umbrian and Florentine elements and almost suggests something of Dürer in the landscape.

A most interesting, full-fronted, and symmetrical portrait of Alberto Pio is merely ascribed to the Italian school, with a hint that the painter of it is to be looked for in the

direction of Milan. In some respects it reminds us of the enigmatical portrait which has gone to Berlin from the Kann collection, and has been attributed to artists of the most diverse schools.

The Raphael, long known as the Dudley Crucifixion, would make the reputation of any collection. For those of us who are old enough to retain the nineteenth century affection for the great Umbrian's early works this must always be one of the most perfect pictures in the world. Modern tendencies are drawing public taste away in a very different direction; and it may well be that such works as this have already passed the culmination of their fame. A day may come when the pirouetting angels and the meek and altogether unimportant and unenterprising saints below will be positively distasteful to a strenuous and reposeless generation. If so, it is well to have lived before the full arrival of so hateful a time. Lovers of the modern will not be so quick to turn their backs on the unattractive but mighty Signorelli; and perhaps the predella panels by him in this collection may retain their prestige when Raphael's has gone under a cloud. To Signorelli also a set of frescoes used to be ascribed which once decorated the Petrucci palace at Siena. Two of them are in the National Gallery, two at Siena, one at Strasburg, and one in the Mond collection. They are now by common consent given to Girolamo Genga. Excellent examples they are of house decoration, which will never look so well as in the place they were painted for, and whence they were wrenched away in 1844. A head of Christ signed by that rare and interesting though second-rate painter, Francesco, son of Gentile da Fabriano, is one of four known signed pictures by him. In all he shows himself more Venetian than Umbrian, whilst in the Mond picture he is evidently a close follower of Crivelli.

First amongst the Venetians must be mentioned a precious and important full-length of the Virgin and Child enthroned amongst marble architecture obviously Venetian in type. The picture is fully signed with the name of Gentile Bellini, and was probably the central panel of an altar-piece, maybe the one mentioned by Ridolfi as belonging to the Guild of the Mercers. There are no less than three genuine works by the greater brother Giovanni. One is a Madonna of his earliest period,

intense, almost passionate in feeling, yet definitely Byzantine in tradition, a painted echo of the Madonna del Baccio. The second is a superb *pietà*, justly judged by Dr Richter to be the best rendering by Bellini of this subject, a favourite with him. Dr Richter makes it the occasion of an essay on *pietàs* in general. The representation of the dead body of Christ half hidden in a sarcophagus was often attempted by north Italian painters, from Foppa in the west to Bellini in the east. These pictures, I believe, always formed part of a multi-panelled altar-piece, and were intended to symbolise the Body and Blood of Christ—in fact, the Eucharist. Both Foppa and Bellini attained an exceptional dignity in the treatment of this mystical theme, one perhaps only capable of perfect handling at that particular moment of faith and art aptly matching one another. The third Bellini is a Madonna of more ordinary type, in which the apple of Eve is an emblem in the hand of mother and Child. Dr Richter finds for this apple a more mystical significance by referring to the poem of William de Deguilleville.

Two full-length saints by Cima are examples of his style, but lack the charm that he occasionally attained. An early Catena includes a Madonna of well-worn Bellini design, so often repeated, where her extended right hand rests sometimes on a donor's head and sometimes on a book, with like expression in either case. The martyr on the right is put forward as a portrait, but the same model appears in other pictures by Catena, and was probably merely a model. Bissolo was the painter of what is a mere *pasticcio* of Bellini, closely resembling another by him in the Redentore at Venice.

Far more interesting than these second-hand works is the finely decorative and masculine wing-panel by Crivelli, pendant to one in the Gardner collection at Boston. To mention Palma is to conjure up a vision of fair women seen in the atmosphere in which Giorgione also and Titian lived and saw. The fair lady in the Mond collection has sisters at Poldi's, in Hampton Court and elsewhere, all richly endowed with personal charms which they do not hide. Mr Claude Phillips has a poor opinion of their virtue; Dr Richter thinks better of them and gives his reasons. We are thus led on to Titian, and Titian in the very last years of his long life. Till only

the other day his latest pictures, like Turner's, were thought fuzzy and out of focus, though none could fail to see the exalted imagination shadowed forth through the tragic 'Crowning with Thorns' at Munich. Now, however, people see differently, having been educated by the strange pictorial output of recent years, so that the very indefiniteness of these last works has become an added charm.

One of several existing copies (Dr Richter calls it the best) of a lost portrait by Titian of a great lady and her son, gives occasion for a long and not unprofitable discussion about Renaissance portraiture and the portraits of Isabella d' Este in particular. An incidental statement calls for correction. Both Dürer and Holbein made portraits of Erasmus, but Dürer's engraved portrait, done at a distance of time and place from the sitter, was never accepted as good. Erasmus himself wrote some hard words about it. An authentic portrait of Isabella by Titian was copied by Rubens. A picture in the collection of M. Léopold Goldschmidt was recently published as the original, but Dr Richter thinks it may be a copy too. He says she 'is represented as an exceedingly stout woman of over fifty.' Fat she evidently is, but certainly not over thirty years of age—about as old, in fact, as the very similar lady in the Mond picture. Probably both alike are rejuvenated likenesses of the same sitter.

Examples of the Titianesque Polidoro and the Veronesque Giuseppe Porta and unattractive pictures by Parrasio and Lazzarini carry on the history of painting in Venice till we come to the days of the brave decorators Sebastiano Ricci, who worked in England also, and Diziani, employed at Dresden and Warsaw. An eighteenth century portrait gives Dr Richter occasion to put forward Alessandro, son of Pietro Longhi, as the real painter of the portraits ascribed to the latter. Venetian landscapes by Carlevaris and his follower, the great Antonio Canale, and one interior by Guardi bring examples of the art of Venice down to within a very few years of the end of the Republic and the disastrous destruction of her ancient, picturesque, and most precious institutions and ceremonials.

After these late men it is a pleasure to be carried back to the stately days of Mantegna. In the 'Imperator

Mundi' monumental dignity and classical repose find perfect expression. Scarcely less delightful is one of the most charming little Madonnas by that attractive painter Bartolommeo Montagna. The mother is so sweet and young, the knightly donor so devout, the landscape naïvely fantastic. It is the work of a young artist with something of the young Raphael in him, to whom it was granted in his youth to infuse the sweetness of youth itself into his works, so that in after years, to whatever heights of accomplishment he attained, he yet did not throw his early work into the shade. Girolamo dai Libri stands on a much lower plane. Dr Richter notes a resemblance between the St John on one of the Mond panels and that in Dürer's well-known 'Four Preachers,' the former of about 1505, the latter of 1526. Dürer might possibly have seen the Italian panel when passing through Verona in 1507, but it was not his habit to recur in later life to hints obtained long before. In 1526 he was full of his Flemish reminiscences, and the drapery of the Preachers can be traced growing under his hands in the numerous drapery studies made by him after his return from the Netherlands. Van Eyck and Matsys, rather than any Italian, inspired it. The Carotto Madonna is full of a modern charm infused into ancient forms. The portrait of Fracastoro by Torbido is precious both because of the man himself and the artist. Fracastoro was likewise painted by Titian and by Carotto, but both pictures are lost or remain unidentified. With Farinato and Zelotto we come down once more to the days of affectation coupled with elaborate skill.

A noble drawing of the Virgin's head for the Louvre picture by Florentine Leonardo opens the list of the Lombard school—a thing far lovelier than the actual painting in its present condition. Three thoroughly Luinesque sickly-sweet Luinis follow. Gaudenzio pleases less at first, but holds us longer. He is here nobly represented by a fine up-standing figure of St Andrew. Yet finer is the 'St Paul,' by the little known Sacchi of Pavia, who, when he painted it, may have had in mind Botticelli's St Augustine fresco at Florence. To Sodoma two pictures are assigned. No one could reject the 'St Jerome'; but the 'Madonna' certainly raises doubts which Dr Richter's text does much to allay. No such disquietudes

are aroused by Boltraffio's admirable profile portrait of a man, who may or may not be the much-portrayed Casio. The work has a sculpturesque severity proper to a day when medal-portraits were fashionable. Giampietrino's 'Salome' is an unattractive rendering of an unattractive subject. The frequently repeated group of two nude children kissing, done after a Leonardo design, is here exemplified in a panel by Marco d' Oggiono. Is this the picture once in Lord Exeter's collection? The catalogue does not inform us. Flemish examples of the school of Mabuse are also known, besides those recorded by Dr Richter. One is at the Hague; another at Weimer.

The Ferrara-Bologna pictures are worthily introduced by a signed half-length 'Madonna' by Francia, the mystical meaning of which is made clear in the text; more important, however, are its high artistic merit and the distinguished classical reserve belonging to it in common with other works by the same master. Good works by Mazzolini, Garofalo, and Dosso Dossi in this same collection show how the next generation of painters sought for other forms of beauty, substituting romance for dignity and novelty of design for old traditional types. Whether it was worth while to reproduce the dreadfully damaged fragment of a fresco by Correggio is questionable. Every trace of beauty and almost of intelligibility has vanished out of it, and only a vague historico-sentimental interest remains. With a word of admiration for the pretty 'Marriage of St Catherine' by Scarsellino of Ferrara we must close these necessarily brief notes on the Mond pictures, which, owing to the generous bequest mentioned above, should have a special interest for our readers.

W. M. CONWAY.

Art. 3.—THE CENSORSHIP OF PLAYS.

Report from the Joint Select Committee of the House of Lords and the House of Commons on the Stage Plays (Censorship); together with the proceedings of the Committee, minutes of evidence, and appendices. His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1909.

ONE day in October 1907 there appeared in the 'Times' a very remarkable document. Seventy-one authors, male and female, had joined in a letter of protest. Suppose that a stranger to the facts were shown the list of signatures without the letter and told that the protesters included, without a single important exception, all the greatest living writers of English fiction, poetry, and drama, from Meredith, Swinburne, and Hardy, to striplings who had not yet passed beyond the stage of being called brilliant; he would certainly declare that only some flagrant act of gross injustice, newly committed or threatened, could explain the wonderful unanimity of men (and authors) so different in age, ideals and achievement. Suppose, on the other hand, that passages of the letter were read to him and the signatories' names concealed. He would find that the protest was aimed not at a single action but at the existence of an office: 'An office autocratic in procedure, opposed to the spirit of the Constitution, contrary to common justice and to common sense. . . . The power lodged in the hands of a single official—who judges without a public hearing, and against whose dictum there is no appeal—to cast a slur on the good name and destroy the means of livelihood of any member of an honourable calling. . . . The menace hanging over every one who follows that calling 'of having his work, and the proceeds of his work, destroyed at a pen's stroke by the arbitrary action of a single official neither responsible to Parliament nor amenable to law . . . an office which denies to the members of that calling 'the position enjoyed under the law by every other citizen.' These men must be the vilest of criminals; so far from being 'honourable,' their calling must be so dishonourable, so dangerous to the public welfare, that they do not deserve the rights of citizens. But why, our stranger would ask,

does not the State stamp out their calling altogether? Have we no prisons, no means of capital punishment? Were we to reveal to him that these dangerous persons are only writers of plays, he would imagine the government to have fallen into the hands of school-boys, who had created this absurd office after reading scraps of Plato's 'Republic' in a crib.

So far we have withheld from our stranger the clue to the puzzle. The reason why so strange a state of things exists, and why it arouses so little opposition or surprise in the general public, is one which is common in an old country. What has existed for a long time is apt to appear part of the order of Nature. The office of Licensor of Plays is nearly two hundred years old in its present form; its conception dates back to Henry VII. The time will come, perhaps, when some Mr Chainmail of the future will be heard lamenting its abolition. It was not a picturesque office, nor in itself a venerable office; there was no state or pageantry connected with it; its duties were unsavoury, the inspection of nuisances; it was, without doubt, in principle grossly unjust, and in practice mainly futile, often ridiculous and sometimes offensive. But it survived by many years every other specimen of the class of secret and final tribunals to which it belonged; it carried a flavour of medievalism into the twentieth century; it was almost worth preservation as the solitary example of pure tyranny that England had to show. And it will be necessary for our stranger to catch something of Mr Chainmail's point of view, and to understand the English way of achieving liberty, before he can realise that, though the office is all that objectors declare it to be, there is no immediate likelihood of its being abolished.

The historical point of view is essential to any consideration of the facts. It is commonly known that Henry Fielding's attacks on Walpole and his ministry, produced at the Little Theatre in the Haymarket, led to the passing of the Licensing Act of 1737. Part of this Act prohibited, under a penalty of 50*l.* for each performance, recoverable from every person engaged in it, the acting for gain of any play or theatrical performance not sanctioned by letters-patent from the Crown or licensed by the Lord Chamberlain; and ordered that

copies of all plays to be acted were to be placed in the hands of the Lord Chamberlain at least fourteen days before production, together with an account of the place and time of the proposed performance; the Lord Chamberlain to have the power, when and so often as he should think fit, to prohibit the performing of any play or part of a play or prologue or epilogue. In his famous speech on the Bill, Lord Chesterfield declared that the power which it proposed to entrust to the Lord Chamberlain was 'more absolute than that which we would extend to the Monarch himself,' and pointed out that there was already a remedy at law for the abuses at which it was aimed; but his arguments had no effect in the Parliament of Walpole's day, and the Bill became law. A few months after the passing of the Act a 'Licensor of the Stage' or 'Examiner of the Stage,' as he was more properly called (the only Licensor being the Lord Chamberlain himself), was sworn in as a servant of the Crown in the Lord Chamberlain's department, at a salary of 400*l.* a year. There is no mention of such an office or officer in the Act.

Walpole's Act of 1737 remained law for more than a hundred years. So far as concerns the licensing of plays for performance (the only point to be considered in the present article) it gave absolute power to the Lord Chamberlain. The work and the fortunes of dramatists, and through them of theatrical managers and players, were entirely at his mercy. He could refuse a public hearing to any new play; he could at any moment stop the performance of a play already licensed. He had to assign no reason; there was no appeal against his decision; and that decision was, in practice, made for him by a subordinate unrecognised by the law. It seems impossible either that such power should not have been misused, or that a calling which involved such large pecuniary interests as the drama should have endured such servitude. But so it was. There is no recorded instance of a Lord Chamberlain or his subordinate taking advantage of uncontrolled opportunities for levying blackmail, even in so corrupt an age as Walpole's. There were other reasons, too, why the drama should find little cause of complaint. In the first place, the object of the Act was to keep the stage free from political satire and

personality; that could be done and was done, without hampering theatrical enterprise to any noticeable extent. Secondly, the century that followed the passing of the Licensing Act was the century during which the drama had another and a more important battle to fight—the battle against the exclusive rights and the frequent shortcomings of the two ‘patent’ houses, Drury Lane and Covent Garden. And thirdly, until that battle for freedom in theatrical enterprise was fought and won, there was clearly little room for any developments in drama which might bring it into conflict with the accepted canons of morality. Indecency and immorality that century had in full measure. Most of it fell outside the purview of the Lord Chamberlain and his subordinate; about such of it as slipped past them the age was not squeamish.

The quarrel between the ‘patent’ theatres and the ‘minors’ came to a head in the reign of William IV. In the year 1832 a Royal Commission sat upon the whole question of the theatres, and in its enquiry the office of the Licensor of plays received some attention. Bulwer, the chairman of the Commission, was strongly opposed to the existence of any such office. Of the fifteen witnesses examined, ten were in favour of the Censorship, five only were against it. Of the four dramatists examined, three were in favour of the Censorship, one only was against it. Of seven managers, four were in favour, and three against. The evidence shows a good deal of dissatisfaction with the constitution and the working of the office, but shows also that the thought uppermost in the minds of Examiners, of Commission, and of witnesses alike was not morality but still politics. The report of the Commission recommended that the office of Censor (the title is here for the first time used more or less officially to designate the Examiner) be held at the discretion of the Lord Chamberlain; and in the following year Bulwer’s Dramatic Performances Bill contained a provision for a graduated system of payment. But the Bill was thrown out; and ten years passed before any change was made.

Under the Theatres Act of 1843 the powers of the Lord Chamberlain were maintained, but defined. The Act of 1737 had given him absolute power; by the new

Act his power of prohibition was limited to cases in which 'he shall be of opinion that it is fitting for the preservation of good manners, decorum or of the public peace so to do.' The limitation is more apparent than real; it is as easy for a Lord Chamberlain to say that he prohibits a play because he is of opinion that it is fitting for the preservation of good manners, decorum and of the public peace so to do, as to say that he prohibits a play because he chooses. And it was not long before the power of the Lord Chamberlain had to face a severer attack than that of 1832. The Act of 1843 gave an assured position to those 'minor' theatres, which had previously carried on a precarious and half-surreptitious existence in defiance of the law. The result was an increase in the number of plays and playwrights. Working for rewards which would seem contemptible to modern dramatists, and producing plays that may seem contemptible to modern tastes, these playwrights still had their ambitions, pecuniary and artistic, and they believed that the Censorship stood in the way of their realisation. In 1865, twenty-one dramatic authors, including Charles Reade, Dion Boucicault, John Oxenford, Palgrave Simpson, F. C. Burnand, Edmund Yates and John Hollingshead, presented a petition praying for the abolition of the office; and the question was once more considered by the Select Committee of both Houses on Theatrical Licenses and Regulations that sat in 1866. Of five playwrights examined, three were in favour of the Censorship, two against it; of seven managers, six were in favour and one against. The evidence reveals one important fact—that politics have almost disappeared from the dispute, to be succeeded by morality and decency. The report of the Commission recommended the retention of the Censorship in its existing state.

Nevertheless the opposition continued to grow. Between 1866 and 1890 a pregnant change came over the English Drama—a change which is easily discernible in the plays written towards the close of that period, but which had its origin not so much in the plays as in the audience. The Bancroft management at the old Prince of Wales's and the Haymarket, the Irving management at the Lyceum, had brought back to the theatre the cultivated people who had long deserted it. It was only

natural that the same people, or their children, with appetites whetted by Shakespeare, and by modern comedies which, in their ingenious little way, attempted to give faithful pictures of life, should go on to demand a drama that dealt as boldly with life as Shakespeare did, and as minutely with modern conditions as Tom Robertson and others attempted to do. The demand brought into England the work of certain foreign authors; it encouraged the acting of well-known masterpieces, and it spurred living dramatists to new and wider efforts. The theatre should offer a serious 'criticism of life'; but the theatre was unable to do so without the approval of the Lord Chamberlain's subordinate, and that approval was not always to be obtained. In 1892 advantage was taken of the need for investigating the London County Council's demand for control of the theatres. Before the Select Committee that conducted the investigation, the Censorship was once more weighed, and once more was held to have proved its usefulness.

In 1910, therefore, the drama is still subject to the practice founded upon an Act of 1737, almost imperceptibly modified by an Act of 1843. Only the history of the office can explain how it is that for a century and three-quarters the English drama has remained under a crude form of a control which exists in few other countries. Our caution, our slowness of movement, our attitude towards morality, sexual and other, and our tendency to look upon art as something either negligible or dangerous—these also must be reckoned. The legal position is this. The drama, and with it the livelihood of every one engaged in its creation and production, is subject to the will of a Minister of the Crown, whose salary is not voted by Parliament but drawn from the Civil List, who has no responsibility to the House of Commons, and whose acts can only be criticised by a question in the House of Lords.* His power as Censor of plays he delegates to a subordinate official, not appointed nor even recognised by Parliament (for the Act of 1843 only authorises the appointment of an official to receive the fees), whose fixed salary (now of 300*l.* a year) is paid out

* Report of the Select Committee, 1909, p. xii; p. 86, Q. 1486-1494; p. 263, Q. 4800-4812.

of the Civil List, and who receives from those who submit plays a fee of 2*l.* 2*s.* for every play of more than two acts, and of 1*l.* 1*s.* for every play of two acts and less that he reads. To this official every play that has not previously received the Lord Chamberlain's licence must be submitted before it may be produced. He judges the plays submitted according to no law, no 'principle that can be defined,'* but by precedent and by the interpretations put upon the words quoted above from the Act of 1843 by the Lord Chamberlain and conveyed to his subordinate through the Rules and Regulations with regard to Theatres issued by the Lord Chamberlain's office, by the form of licence which is issued for an accepted play, and (chiefly, as it would seem) by private letters and conversations.† It is in the power of this subordinate to recommend a play to the Lord Chamberlain for licence, to refuse to recommend it, or to demand certain alterations as the condition of his recommending it. In cases of doubt, it is the practice for the Reader, or Examiner, of Plays, the Comptroller of the Lord Chamberlain's Department and the Lord Chamberlain to confer; should the Reader not wish for assistance in forming his decisions, he alone reads the play and determines its fate. If a licence is refused, there is no appeal against the refusal; and, while a refusal may be taken in practice to mean that the play contravenes some one or other of the interpretations put by the Lord Chamberlain upon the Act of 1843, no reason for refusal need be assigned or can be demanded. A licence once granted gives the play no legal or practical protection against a change of mind on the part of the Lord Chamberlain, by whom the run of any play may be stopped without notice or reason given. Nor does it afford any protection in the theatres outside his jurisdiction from interference by the local authority. On the other hand, the Lord Chamberlain has no immediate remedy in case of any neglect of his order. He may refuse to renew the licence of the theatre where the breach was committed, should that theatre happen to be one of the few under his jurisdiction. He has no other means of enforcing his commands.

The legal position seems, therefore, a difficult and

* Report, p. 14, Q. 194.

† *Ib.*, p. 94, Q. 1645-1656; and pp. 352-358.

ineffectual one. The practical position will seem even more so when we consider what it is that the Reader of Plays has to do. The phrase in the Act of 1843 'the preservation of good manners, decorum or of the public peace,' has received the following interpretation in the Rules and Regulations with regard to Theatres drawn up by the Lord Chamberlain's office and endorsed on the licence to produce :—

'No profanity or impropriety of language to be permitted on the Stage.

No indecency of dress, dance, or gesture to be permitted on the Stage.

No offensive personalities or representations of living persons* to be permitted on the Stage, nor anything calculated to produce riot or breach of the peace.'

It needs no acquaintance with the theatre to see that the Lord Chamberlain's subordinate, in being asked to carry out these regulations, is asked to perform an impossibility. He is given so many sheets of paper covered with type-written words, and asked to see that there is no indecent dress, dance or gesture in a theatrical performance. He is given the literary composition of an author and held responsible to public opinion for the words spoken by actors and actresses on the stage. He has to judge of offensive representations of living persons without seeing so much as the portraits of the characters.† If the manuscript of a play is submitted without a word of stage-directions or other guide to the method of representation, he has no power to demand any details.‡ He is to test the comfort of a boot from a drawing of it; to pronounce upon the moral character of an unborn child. The powers entrusted to the Lord Chamberlain, chiefly on the plea of the difference between the acted play and the written word, are exercised by a subordinate who has no means of judging the acted play except from the written word. It is possible for a single dress, a single episode (we might instance the play, 'A Wife Without a Smile'), to make the acted play a totally different thing from the play as written in the manuscript, without a

* The word 'offensive' is taken to govern both 'personalities' and 'representations.' Report, p. 88, Q. 1532-3.

† Report, p. 17, Q. 269.

‡ Ib., p. 19, Q. 307-9.

hint of the destined offence being discoverable by the Examiner. True, he is privately instructed to 'visit the theatres constantly,' to see that these rules are carried out; but it is a prominent part of the principles on which his position is based that the mischief which he is asked to prevent is done by a single performance.

Strange to say, these almost impossible duties have in the past been performed with fair success. One of the reasons for this must be considered later; another, and an equally weighty reason, demands immediate and clear statement. The Examiners during the nineteenth century were Larpent, George Colman the younger, for whom John Payne Collier acted for a time as deputy; Charles Kemble, John Mitchell Kemble, whose work was done for him by his successor, William Bodham Donne, and E. F. Smyth-Pigott, who was succeeded in 1895 by the present holder of the office. Larpent was an easy-going person, who rather annoyed the stage by his dilatoriness than the public by any rigidity; George Colman, no Puritan as a playwright, had a nose of peculiar sensitiveness to small improprieties and made himself a little ridiculous by his notions of decency. Collier, Charles Kemble, John Mitchell Kemble, and William Bodham Donne were all men of a different stamp. Three of them at least had good claims to be considered men of learning and of letters; they were men, also, of tact and discretion, of good manners and acquainted with the best of the world they lived in. Not one of them but raised objections to something which modern critics would consider harmless or meritorious; but, when the politics of the times are considered, even Colman's two greatest mistakes—the banning of Martin Archer Shee's 'Alasco' and Miss Mitford's 'Charles I'—seem venial offences; while, of his successors, only Donne committed what would seem to us a grave error, the refusal of a licence to a translation of 'La Dame aux Camélias.' They could not fail to annoy the managers, authors, and public of their times; but, being reduced by the indeterminate nature of their instructions to act on their own discretion, they all proved themselves men of an urbanity, a good sense, and a knowledge of dramatic art and of the life about them, which justified their appointment to a position of extreme delicacy. All exercised, more or less

the wholesome influence expressed by Dion Boucicault as 'the presence of a lady at a dinner-party of gentlemen.' It hardly mattered that there are subjects needing discussion which gentlemen cannot discuss before a lady, for the stage, as they knew it, discussed nothing at all. The name of Donne brings us to the close of the list of capable censors. Mr Pigott, formerly a journalist, was a man of some attainments; it was his misfortune to be contemporary with an increasing demand for the serious treatment on the stage of moral problems in modern life and for the production of existing masterpieces, while he remained convinced that those who financed the theatres did so 'for purposes which could not be openly avowed.' Still, his ignorance of dramatic art proved not altogether obstructive. If he refused to recommend 'The Cenci' for a licence, he at least recommended several of Ibsen's plays. The deed was better than the reason; he considered them 'too absurd altogether' to be dangerous, and congratulated himself when he saw for how short a time each held the stage.

It seems almost possible that, had Mr Pigott been succeeded by a Reader of his own level, there would have been no need for the appointment of the Select Committee of last year. But the fourteen years during which Mr Redford has held the office have seen the dramatists of England goaded to strong and public protest. When all allowance has been made for the difficulties attendant on the growth of new aims and ideals in drama, it cannot be denied that the conduct of the office has been such as to bring it into contempt. The primary object of the Censorship to-day is to keep indecency and impropriety from the stage. No honest theatre-goer will deny that there have been produced, under the auspices of rich and powerful managements, musical plays, farces and comedies, in which indecency, as thinly veiled as some of the actresses, has been the very gist of the performance; in which, while no immorality has been enacted on the stage, immorality has been presented as the natural and reputable behaviour of society; in which, while not an improper or vulgar word has been spoken, the whole atmosphere has been sensual and corrupt. It was not, perhaps, the present Reader of Plays, who advised a leading manager that a certain

play dealing with adultery would pass the Lord Chamberlain 'if it could be made more comic';* but the phrase would appear to be a not unfair statement of his policy. His office, not himself, is to blame if a female member of a foreign company gives a degrading exhibition of erotic epilepsy on the stage, for he has official cognisance of nothing but the book; but the case is not the same with a French company which performs the lowliest comedy of modern times. The Censorship is intended to prevent offensive personalities; yet in recent years a musical play has introduced a character 'made-up' with unusual fidelity to represent an eminent politician, and (lest the resemblance should escape even the Examiner) has provided him with an offensively personal song to sing; while an adaptation of a French farce has been enlivened with an unsavoury gibe at an eminent dramatist of the school which Mr Redford dislikes.

It is true that a play was lately refused because one of its characters bore a name resembling that of a famous general, while another's name was compounded of those of two Prime Ministers. But inconsistency can hardly be urged against this rejection, since there was no shadow of resemblance between the real and the fictitious general, and not the cleverest playwright can draw a man who is like two Prime Ministers at once. Of genuine inconsistency, the following instance may be given. Properly speaking, 'Everyman' should have been submitted for a licence. Uncertain as the rules of the Lord Chamberlain's office on this head appear to be, it is quite certain that 'Everyman,' a fourteenth century play, cannot claim exemption from the Licenser as a play which might be presumed to have already been licensed, having been acted within the period when there was a censorship, either under Walpole's Act, or under the Master of the Revels.† Had Mr Redford followed the rules and traditions of his office, he must have examined the play before production and refused it a licence as containing a biblical character in the person of God the Father. What he did was to recommend that it 'should not be sent in—that it should come under the head of a Shakespearian play.'‡ This extra-

* Report, p. 151, Q. 2605.

† *Ib.*, p. 16, Q. 235.

‡ *Ib.*, p. 15, Q. 233.

ordinary pronouncement would be a matter for pure congratulation, were it not that a new play containing biblical characters, Mr Laurence Housman's 'Bethlehem,' when duly submitted, was refused a recommendation for license. More puzzling still, another new play, Miss Buckton's 'Eager Heart,' containing more than six of the same biblical characters that had been included in 'Bethlehem,' and among them St Joseph, the Virgin and the Holy Child, received its recommendation.

Capriciousness could hardly go further; but instances may be multiplied. Mr Bernard Shaw's play, 'The Showing up of Blanco Posnet,' was refused a licence on the ground of certain blasphemous expressions; within a year a licence was granted to a play by another Irish author in which the workman's expletive occurred three times in one act. Now the supposed blasphemy of Mr Shaw's 'Blanco Posnet' was of the stuff of the play. Without it, it would be impossible to understand the characters who uttered it, or the religious experience which is the whole subject of the drama. In the other play referred to, the oaths were unnecessary; their only purpose was to show that the character who used them was a rough fellow in a rage, and this could easily have been achieved—and was, in fact, achieved—without them. And this brings us to an inconsistency (if indeed it be not consistency) of a graver kind. To take only the most prominent instances: how are we to explain the rejection of 'Monna Vanna' and the licensing of 'The Devil'; the rejection of 'Mrs Warren's Profession' and the licensing of 'The Christian'? Of the first two, one is a work of genius with a lofty moral, the other a tawdry and vulgar piece of theatrical sham. 'The Devil' contains an incident very similar to the leading incident in 'Monna Vanna'; 'The Devil' is recommended for the licence, and 'Monna Vanna' is rejected. 'Mrs Warren's Profession,' whatever else it may be, is the attack of an ardent reformer on the trade of the procuress; in 'The Christian,' prostitutes flaunt upon the stage to lend colour and allurements to the scene; 'The Christian' is licensed, and 'Mrs Warren's Profession' is banned.

Definite instructions have been issued by the Lord Chamberlain to the Examiner to pay special regard to the literary and artistic merits of the plays submitted

to him.* The present Examiner has publicly disclaimed his ability to do so,† though his correspondence with managers does not always bear out his modesty.‡ No one would be justified, perhaps, in tracing his action to a respect for the opinion of the great public which prevents him from depriving them of the work of their favourite authors, coupled with a courage that delights in dealing rebuffs to work valued by more cultivated minds. Be that as it may, while the Censorship in other hands has frequently been called to account, it has been reserved for Mr Redford to convince a Select Committee that some change is necessary.

The fact is that, as the quality of the officer deteriorated, the demands on the office grew more exacting; and this consideration—the second reason why the duties in the past were more or less adequately performed—doubtless influenced the Select Committee of 1909 in their suggestion for amendment. In former days it was enough for the Examiner to see that each play contained no improper situations or language, introduced no offensive personalities and avoided biblical characters and inflammatory politics. Much more is asked of him to-day; and it is no longer sufficient for him merely to nose out small improprieties. Side by side with the drama of sensuous or intellectual amusement, there is growing in England a drama ‘of ideas,’ a drama of ‘criticism of life’—a drama, that is, which would make use of the stage as a means for the education of grown men and women, the discussion of the moral problems of actual life and the ventilation—in Bacon’s phrase, the ‘tossing’—of new conceptions of right and wrong. It will sometimes deal with painful subjects, because a great part of morality is concerned with painful subjects; it will sometimes run counter to current morality, because some of its authors will be independent thinkers, in advance of or behind their age. It will demand absolute freedom in drawing inspiration from the masterpieces of the past; and the present position, in which Dryden’s and Lee’s translation of the ‘Oedipus Rex’ may be played and a modern translation is forbidden, in which Shakespeare’s

* Report, p. 88, Q. 1530; p. 91, Q. 1574.

† *Ib.*, p. 14, Q. 205; p. 24, Q. 428.

‡ *Ib.*, p. 135, Q. 2355.

'Pericles' may be played and 'The Cenci' is forbidden, will be found intolerable. If the Censorship is to continue, it will doubtless be difficult, but should not prove impossible, to find a man of letters and of the world who could fill the post adequately. Such a man will be able to tell the difference between a play of serious moral import and high artistic aim, and a play written to appeal to an unhealthy curiosity or a debauched taste, between religion and profanity, between a healthy piece of fun and an offensive attack. He will be alive to the danger of an apparently harmless and foolish play which representation will turn into a glaring incitement of sexual desire. He will be sufficiently cognisant of modern thought not to be shocked at any genuine specimen of the 'advanced drama' (as it was called by a member of the Select Committee, who clearly thought that to be advanced was to be wicked), and a judge of dramatic art sufficiently educated to tell meretricious shams from serious endeavours. He will read a play with his brain rather than with his nose; not sniffing for petty, detached improprieties, but considering the work as a whole; calculating the relation of part to part; determining how far words or deeds that are *inconvenants* in the drawing-room may be necessary to the aim and matter of the drama; judging the import of the whole work and the extent to which things common or unclean in themselves are transfigured into beauty by the writer's art or made salutary by his moral purpose. Above all, he will be a just man, a man not to be deterred from condemning offensive plays by any fear of offending powerful managements,* nor from allowing work that he knows to be good work by any fear of offending the great public; a man who will make it incumbent on fathers and mothers of families to find out from the proper agencies—the Press and common report—that such and such a play, though a work of art or of high purpose, is not a play which they should allow their boys and girls to see.

The thorough-going opponents of the Censorship, however, would declare that, even with such a man in office, the Censorship must remain an unmixed evil. It

* Report, p. 38, Q. 708.

is, as we have seen, a secret and absolute tribunal. Worse than that, they would tell us, it has a pernicious effect in relieving the public of its own responsibility. Clumsily and badly as the Censorship works in incapable hands, the acceptance or rejection of 'Monna Vanna' or 'Bethlehem' is a small matter compared with the evil of deputing the public conscience to a man in whose appointment the public has no voice. In principle this is bad; in practice it results not in the diminution but in the increase of offences. For, when once the Lord Chamberlain has licensed a play, that play, no matter what it may become in representation, is, in practice, guaranteed as a moral or at least an inoffensive play, a play which the public of all ages and both sexes may safely go to see. Managers, actors and public alike shelter themselves behind the licence. Though some sort of protest and prohibition is possible, it is troublesome to set it in motion; and the licence has so much weight all over the country that the difficulty of challenging it is almost insuperable. Moreover, while the Censorship affords no real protection against offence, in cases of refusal the author has no remedy. Officially he is not recognised by the Lord Chamberlain's office, which deals directly only with managers. In practice, the author is by courtesy often granted an interview with the Examiner; but this is small consolation, in cases of genuine moral conviction, for a man who not only finds the money reward of his work snatched from him, but is branded as an immoral, profane, or seditious writer.

Further, the existence and conduct of the Censorship prevents men of letters who might otherwise have written for the stage from exposing themselves to the risk of wasted labour and of insult; while dramatists are forced to leave plays unwritten because they know from experience that such plays would be prohibited unless they squared with a subordinate official's ideas of morality. Every play, they would urge, has a right to be seen once; to be judged, that is, not by a single man as a piece of writing, but by an audience as a piece of acted drama. Why, they would ask, should the drama in England be held to need safeguards which are considered unnecessary in Ireland, the United States and most other countries, and which even the English music-halls, or theatres

of variety—places of entertainment till quite recently classed by the law as ‘disorderly houses’—are held worthy to do without? In cases of offence, there is first of all the public itself, which both ought and is able to keep the stage clean; and secondly the common legal machinery, which can be put in motion to stop the run of an improper play as it can be to stop the sale of an improper book. A strong and healthy public opinion, they believe, is the only right censor of the drama; and public opinion is enfeebled and tainted by the interference of a single person whose courage, knowledge and morality may be behind that of his age and whom, even in the best cases, inevitable personal preference is almost bound to make innocently unjust.

Every one of these objections must be held to be sound in principle and valid in fact. Only faith in human nature can raise human nature; and the ideal course would undoubtedly be to let the public judge every play that every author can succeed in submitting to it; if it dislikes his wares, let it punish him by avoiding them, and, in bad cases, by leaving him to answer for them to the law. Unfortunately, it is not always safe—and it is certainly contrary to the English methods of advance—to put too much trust in human nature all at once. It is our way to let opposing parties fight it out, and to sanction a change only when the party desiring a change has proved its claim. And there must be many who, while fully admitting the ultimate justice of the demand for the entire abolition of the Censorship, are in doubt whether the time for this has yet arrived. So much has been written and said of late about ‘the psychology of the crowd,’ and the difference between the acted drama and the written story, that little need be said on these points. We all realise the difference (to use an illustration supplied by Sir W. S. Gilbert) between reading that Eliza took off her night-gown and stepped into her bath, and seeing her do it; indeed, we realise it so keenly that we are apt to forget that it cuts both ways, and that an audience which saw Eliza attempt to do anything of the kind would probably wreck the house. The fact remains that the appeal of the theatre is more physical, more insistent and more powerful than that of any other form of art; and those are partly in

the right who say that the mischief is done by a single production of an offensive play.

Suppose all control previous to production removed, what is the alternative? Control after production by the local authority, the police and the law. This is the only control that is now exercised over the music-halls; and it works with remarkable smoothness and efficiency. In London the inspectors of the County Council report on any breach of decorum in a music-hall; the manager is warned; and, if the warning should prove unavailing, the offence is remembered against him when next he applies for his licence. The manager of a theatre in like case would doubtless be equally willing to act upon a warning received; but while, in the composite and shifting programme of a music-hall, the change required might be no more than the excision of a 'turn' or the alteration of a dress, in a theatre it might necessitate the entire discontinuance of a play. It is, of course, absurd to suppose that the audience of a theatre is more lax or licentious in bent than the audience of a music-hall, or that the manager of a theatre is less scrupulous and high-minded than the manager of a music-hall; but it must be remembered that the nature of the wares they deal in is so different that the one needs more careful safeguarding against offence than the other. Under the present law, it appears, an undesirable play can only be stopped by prosecution. Even an injunction might take several days to procure; in default of an injunction, the play would run for weeks unmolested, spreading its venom and debauching the waverers on the border-line of decent feeling, or holding an eminent man up to a Foote-like ridicule, or fanning international or party hatred into a conflagration. Then would come a trial at law in which all the unsavoury matter would be detailed anew before a public either disgusted or lewdly curious. Moreover, the points at issue would be so frequently matters of discretion, not of fact, so frequently offences trembling on the brink of innocence, or questions of art and interpretation rather than of downright obscenity or insult, that, in the opinion of some, at any rate, a police court, or even a higher court, would not be the fittest place for their decision. Suppose, again, that, the Censorship being abolished, the Lord Chamberlain's rarely-used power to

stop the run of a play without notice were transferred to another official or body, nothing would be gained, except by author or actors who would have an opportunity of vindicating their conduct in public.

It will be at once objected that, if Ireland and the United States can enjoy a decent and innocuous drama without the help of a Censor, Great Britain should be trusted to do the same: that if uncensored Paris revels in indecency, that is because the holiday ground of the world likes indecency, while the Briton at home is something of a prude. With regard to Paris, there is much weight in the argument. English 'hypocrisy' is sometimes a force for genuine righteousness, or at least wholesomeness; under the loosest control our theatre would never exhibit the horrors common (and deplored by the better Parisians) in Paris. But it must not be forgotten that, among all the follies and blunders which the Censorship has recently committed, it has prevented the performance of a few plays (while it has sanctioned that of several other plays) 'of a light character and an indecent type.'* The mere fact that these plays were submitted for a licence is a disquieting comment on what might happen if there were no Censorship. With regard to Ireland, her immunity from trouble is almost explained by the fact that, save at the Abbey Theatre in Dublin, all or nearly all the plays performed in the country are plays that have already been licensed and performed in London. The case of America is more difficult to answer. There is in America a very lively young native drama, dealing plainly and vigorously with problems in national politics, in sexual matters, in questions of labour and capital. It advances unmolested, yet without offence, safe in the hands of the local authorities of each State or town. Now and then there is an outbreak. An adaptation of Daudet's 'Sapho' is stopped; there are mobs, police raids, journalistic excesses and law proceedings over 'Mrs Warren's Profession.' But, in the second case at any rate, the author was publicly vindicated; the morality of his purpose was established; and he had not to complain of condemnation unheard by a secret and absolute tribunal. Against these advantages to the

* Report, p. x.

author, however, we have to set the pain caused to the more delicate minds among the public by all the notoriety given to subjects which in their opinion might have received ventilation by other means than these; and the unwholesome joy of the baser sort in a scandal of this nature—a scandal which the mere performance of the play would never have caused. On the whole, however, the condition of the drama in America seems to be enviable—a condition to which the drama in England may shortly attain, but for which it is not ready yet.

For that will appear, on reflection, to be the truth of the case. Thanks to a law passed in a moment of servility and panic, and to the English way of 'muddling along' successfully in absurd positions, neither the stage nor the public is yet ripe for what most will agree to be the ideal state of things. We have said (it will be noticed) the stage, not the drama. It is the strength and the weakness of the drama to be dependent on the stage; and the stage needs a little consideration. It will be a good thing when the public decides for itself what plays it will and will not have; and it might be trusted to do the work for itself at least no worse than it is at present done for it. In principle, it has this power already, for the licence of the Lord Chamberlain, as we have seen, affords no protection to the manager of a theatre outside his jurisdiction against the retrospective interference of the authority that licenses his theatre. In practice, however, the licence given to the play carries so much weight, that cases where the municipal authority or even the 'local faddist' objects to a licensed play are almost unknown. From the point of view of the drama, this, it must be admitted, is an argument against the Censorship, which through laxity or ignorance may have approved an undesirable play, or may have suffered an innocuous play to be transformed into an offensive play. From the point of view of the stage, it is all to the good. The theatrical manager is a timid creature. He dreads responsibility; he hates forming an opinion. To him it appears absolutely necessary that there should be some one who shall make up his mind for him, and on whom he can throw the blame of a mistake. The guarantee of the Censor is his reply to his critics, his standard of morals, the keeper of his mind and his conscience. Thus

it is that we find all the managers ranged on one side in the controversy and all the authors on the other.

It is easy to laugh at the manager for his supineness and timidity, while something other than laughter is due to those powerful managers who cynically exploit the Examiner's reverence for the great public; but it is only fair to remember that the stage is a great business enterprise, and that with any play that he produces the manager risks more than his reputation for sense and morality. He risks large sums of money, and risks them in a business which is already precarious enough. Naturally, what both he and the average actor require is security; and this the Censorship with certain limitations provides. Of the profits on a successful play only a small part—and often none at all—is made in London. The rest comes from the provinces and the suburbs, the theatres outside the Lord Chamberlain's jurisdiction. Supposing that at each theatre a touring company should visit, the play had to face the possible disapproval of the local authority, and had no licence, no certificate of good character, with which to quiet opposition, the risks would render an already precarious business too precarious to carry on at all in its present form. Some readjustment of the business principles of the stage would have to be carried out; and, while both the stage and the drama might benefit from such a readjustment, time and experiment would be required to frame it. Time and experiment also are necessary before it can be calculated what effect the abolition of the Censorship would have upon the drama and the public. For nearly two centuries the drama has been in thralldom. More facts, a more complete basis for calculation, are necessary before it can be decided whether or not it would be safe to give it complete freedom.

The scheme recommended in the Report of the Select Committee of 1909 appears to provide opportunity for the necessary experiment. But, before examining the Report, it will be well to cast a glance at certain alternative schemes which were proposed during the enquiry and have not been dealt with, directly or by implication, above. First must come that Advisory Board which the Lord Chamberlain, before the Commission was called,*

* Report, p. 88, Q. 1513-1526.

had already decided to form, but which now rests in abeyance. A lawyer, two actors and theatre-proprietors (practically retired), a playwright, and the Comptroller of the Lord Chamberlain's department had been invited to constitute a Board, whose duty it would be to consider every play about which the Examiner and a manager had failed to agree. Without criticising its composition, it is difficult to see what advantage, except some possible consolation to a disappointed author and manager, this Board would secure. The decisions would be, to all intents, as far from a decision of the public as that of the Examiner, Comptroller, and Lord Chamberlain in consultation. If the Board held that the Examiner was right, there would still be no chance for the author to vindicate himself or submit his work to a wider tribunal; if the Board disagreed with the Examiner, additional odium and ridicule would be thrown on an office that has already enough to bear. To these objections we may add that contained in the Select Committee's Report—that, 'although at the outset such a committee might bring to its functions an unbiassed mind, in course of years the same objections that attach to an individual censor would attach to it also.'*

Next comes the suggestion of an appeal from the Censor to arbitration. The author and manager would again have some consolation, but would still lack the verdict they desire—the verdict of the public whom they address; but, as the Report points out, the proposal mistakes the real nature of the question at issue. 'The question at issue is not to be regarded in the light of a dispute between two individuals, to be decided by the opinion of a third party acceptable to both. It is the question by what means the State, on behalf of the community, is to prevent the public performance of plays which are improper for such performance. To refer the decision of a Minister of State on such an issue to an outside arbitrator for approval or reversal is contrary to sound principles of government.'† A suggestion that the duty of licensing plays should be transferred from the Lord Chamberlain's office to the Home Office proposes to throw more work on an already overworked

* Report, p. ix.

† Ib.

department and more responsibility on a Minister who has too much already. The advantage aimed at would be secured by the Select Committee's recommendation that by some means the action of the Lord Chamberlain should be made as accessible to review by the House of Commons as is that of any other Minister.* Of the other schemes proposed, all but one presuppose the abolition of the Censorship.

The remaining scheme is that sketched by Professor Gilbert Murray and elaborated and amended by the Select Committee (some of whom evidently had it in their minds all along) to form the recommendations of their Report.† The novelty and the central feature of this scheme are to be found in the words: 'It should be optional to submit a play for licence, and legal to perform an unlicensed play, whether it has been submitted or not.'

Here, in a phrase, lies all the freedom that the stage and the drama are ready, perhaps, to bear, a large slice of the perfect freedom that is the ideal condition. Suppose this recommendation to become law, any playwright who wishes may, at his own risk, dispense with the Lord Chamberlain's approval, and ask a verdict from the public direct. If he has the courage of his opinions, he may give them to the world—not, as it were, mummified in the covers of a book, but alive in the hard-hitting, flesh-and-blood form which he chose for his means of expression. A manager who sees profit for himself and benefit for the public in one of those modern dramas of Scandinavia, Russia or Germany, which are played over and over again in continental towns, will be able to consider their presentation in England without fear of bringing new ridicule, new charges of prudery, stupidity or hypocrisy on his nation. Such drama as cares to run the risk of being free, will have the power to be free.

In granting this measure of freedom Parliament would bring into being, not the ideal condition of a drama as free as every other art, but a condition in which the drama, still carefully safeguarded, would be able to prove its right to complete freedom. We do not antici-

* Report, p. 12.

† *Ib.*, pp. xi-xiv: 'Proposals with respect to the licensing of plays.'

pate that this partial freedom will be abused. For who are the men who will be bold enough to defy the Censorship, either by refusing to ask its opinion at all, or declining to take it when received? Not, surely, the purveyor of frivolous vulgarity or cloaked incitement to vice, not the speculator in lewdness or political passion. In one word, it would not be worth his while. There can be little question that, for a time, at any rate, an unlicensed play will be taken by the great public to be born in sin and damned from birth. Such a play must come before the world prepared to force approval by its beauty or its earnestness. Genuine or hypocritical, public opinion at the start will be against it. Even without the safeguards which the Select Committee proposes, we believe that the public opinion which has purified the music-halls with very little help from County Council or police, will make short work of mere vulgarity, sedition, or personal insult. At the same time, it is well to be prepared against the possibility of offence; and the safeguards proposed by the Select Committee seem adequate. For the first time we have a clear statement of the principles on which the Licenser should act, the offences he should refuse to sanction. Every play, it is proposed, should be licensed, except those which

- (a) are indecent;
- (b) contain offensive personalities;
- (c) represent on the stage in an invidious manner a living person, or any person recently dead;
- (d) do violence to the sentiment of religious reverence;
- (e) are calculated to induce to crime or vice;
- (f) are calculated to impair friendly relations with any foreign Power;
- (g) are calculated to cause a breach of the peace.

The list is clear, comprehensive, and wisely chosen; it replaces vague tradition and secret instructions by definite and simple rules. Under (d) must be noticed especially a great advance. There never was a word in the law against the presentation of biblical characters; and by the proposed rule the foolish old precedent would be destroyed. Reverent presentations of sacred persons and subjects in a medium which, being a part of life, has as much right to them as any other part, will not be

confused with irreverence and profanity. It is impossible in this world to avoid offending the religious feelings of some one; the religious feelings of a sturdy Protestant are hurt every time that, passing a Catholic chapel, he hears the mass-bell or the Angelus; the religious feelings of an 'old' Jew are hurt every time he sees a 'new' Jew at work on a Saturday. But the Catholic is not prevented by law from ringing his bell, nor the Jew from working on the Sabbath; and the same liberty may be justly claimed by those who see no harm in the reverent presentation in a theatre of religious drama.

Suppose the rules accepted; a play held by the Licensor to offend in none of the seven particulars will be no more immune than it is now from subsequent interference, though such interference would no longer be left to the common informer, or the local authority. Whether a play has or has not been submitted for licence, it will be open to the Public Prosecutor to prefer an indictment against manager and authors for an infringement of the first rule—that against indecency; and the performance of the play will become illegal from the moment the manager has received notice from the Public Prosecutor that he intends to take proceedings. The remaining heads of offence are left to the care of the Attorney-General and a standing committee of legal and lay members of the Privy Council—a tribunal surely august enough to satisfy even those who make the loftiest claims for the dignity of the drama. As in the case of proceedings for indecency, notice of intended action stops the run of the play immediately; and while the manager and author are not to be liable to penalties, as they are under the heading of indecency, the play may be prohibited for ten years, after which it may not be played without a licence, and the licence of the theatre is to be endorsed, three endorsements within three years bringing forfeiture.

Without entering into a detailed examination of these proposals, it may be said that they seem to provide efficient control of both licensed and unlicensed plays, a means of promptly stopping suspected plays and sufficient penalties for offence. Acting under these clear instructions, a capable Examiner, with or without an Advisory Board, should be able—even with no more than the manuscript of the unacted play can give him—to cleanse

the stage of much offence that at present slips through. The grave dangers of the present day, indecency, incitement, direct or indirect, to vice, and insults to foreign Powers should occur in no licensed play; and our contention is that the trader in undesirable sensation, the hole-and-corner purveyor of mere lewdness, and the rich and powerful syndicate that makes dividends by sailing as near the wind as it dares, will find their operations sensibly and sharply foiled at the outset by a power which it will not be worth their while to defy. The general public will still depute the work of judgment to a single person, who, if he be wisely chosen and keeps to his instructions, should do the work to their satisfaction. The only men likely to set the Censorship at naught will be men who do not regard money-making as their primary object; earnest persons who have a doctrine to preach, and believe in it so passionately that they dare to appeal to the public against the law and the conventions; lovers of beauty in whom the desire to create and spread beauty is stronger than the fear of obloquy and trouble. Such people are few, and their plays appeal only to a small section of the public. Plays that have not asked or have been refused a licence will rarely be seen, we imagine, on the public stage.

They will have, nevertheless, the chance of being seen. The proposals of the Select Committee have been condemned in some quarters as a compromise. We are English enough to believe that that is their very merit. In the present stage of the history of the drama, compromise is precisely what will prove to be, though not the ideal state, the most useful and instructive state. The need of the present moment is exact knowledge—knowledge of how far the proffered inch of liberty can or will be abused; of how far the public is worthy to be entrusted with the choice and control of its drama; of what demand there is for the kind of drama that is called by its enemies ‘advanced.’ While stoutly convinced that the ideal step would be the abolition of the Censorship, we may still welcome the proposals of the Select Committee as likely to provide through experience the information needed. In any case, they offer the best we are likely to get.

Art. 4.—THE AUTHOR OF 'VATHEK.'

1. *The Life and Letters of William Beckford of Fonthill (Author of 'Vathek')*. By Lewis Melville. Illustrated. London : Heinemann, 1910.
2. *Dreams, Waking Thoughts, and Incidents ; in a Series of Letters from Various Parts of Europe*. London : Printed for J. Johnson, MDCCLXXXIII. (Reprinted in 'The History of the Caliph Vathek and European Travels.' London : Ward, Lock and Co., 1891.)
3. *An Arabian Tale, from an Unpublished Manuscript : with Notes Critical and Explanatory*. London : Printed for J. Johnson, MDCCLXXXVI.
4. *Italy ; with Sketches of Spain and Portugal*. By the Author of 'Vathek.' Two vols. London : Bentley, 1834.
5. *Recollections of an Excursion to the Monasteries of Alcobaca and Batalha*. By the Author of 'Vathek.' London : Richard Bentley, 1835.
6. *Memoirs of William Beckford, of Fonthill*. [By Cyrus Redding.] Two vols. London : Skeet, 1859.
7. *The Oriental Tale in England in the Eighteenth Century*. By Martha Pike Conant, Ph.D. New York : Columbia University Press, 1908.

WHEN he was about eighty years old, William Beckford professed that he had never in all his life known a moment's *ennui*. Many men would give a good deal to learn his secret. This is not, of course, to say that he was never bored ; for boredom implies an external agent, not always evitable, whilst *ennui* springs from within. Beckford possessed in a high degree the capacity for being bored, but he escaped whenever possible—even at the cost of broken chairs. When a 'personage of some political importance and a distinguished graduate of the University of Coimbra' pressed him too resolutely for his opinion upon some passages in Blackstone's Commentaries, Beckford made a strategic retreat with his chair ; but 'this determined bore pushed his after me with such vehemence that a conflict must have ensued, perhaps to my total discomfiture, had not his chair been killed under him ; both back and legs gave way, and down he fell flat on the gritty floor.' To suffer fools gladly was the last

thought that would occur to so perfect a hedonist; he shunned them as he would the pestilence.

It was probably this resolute avoidance of the claims and penalties of conventional society that eventually earned him the reputation of eccentricity, lunacy, even monstrous defiance of moral laws. We believe that the explanation of his strange life is rather to be found in the one word sincerity. From his boyhood he had resolved to be true to his ideal; and whatever hindered his purpose he simply cut off from his life. Whether his ideal was good or bad is not the question. The essential point is that he had certainly formed it when he was barely seventeen years old, and that he clung to it immovably till he died. There is not a trace of inconsistency from beginning to end. Beckford merely lived the life he intended to live, and allowed nothing seriously to interfere with the execution of his plan. What was 'expected' of him, from his wealth and position, his intellect and accomplishments, and his early achievements in literature—all this went for nothing in his estimation. He knew what he wanted, and so far as possible he got it. What other people thought he ought to want and to get did not matter.

He had the supreme advantage, from his point of view—from others it may seem even a curse—of being born to such a position that within necessary limits he could shape his life as he chose. He knew that when he came of age he would be perhaps the richest commoner in England, with a million in cash and an income of over a hundred thousand a year. The only son of the stout Lord Mayor of London, who bearded George III with paralysing abruptness on the rights of the people, he might be expected to choose a parliamentary career; but though he held a seat in the House of Commons for many years, he seldom sat, and probably never spoke. The whole business of politics was utterly distasteful to him.

'The news of the World' (he wrote in 1780, when he was not yet twenty) 'affects me not half so much as the chirping of a sparrow or the rustling of withered leaves. . . . I wish not to eclipse those who retail the faded flowers of parliamentary eloquence. My senate house is a wood of pines, from whence, on a misty evening, I watch the western sky streaked with portentous red, whilst awful whispers amongst the boughs

above me foretell a series of strange events and melancholy times.'

Had his father lived, he might possibly have been forced into the conventional mould, been sent to Eton and Christ Church, have held office, and endowed schools and hospitals. He would at all events have become a much more useful person than he was. The Alderman evidently meant him to be a pillar of the State, for he secured the elder Pitt as godfather to the boy, and induced Lord Camden and the 'good' Lord Lyttelton to interest themselves in his future.

But Alderman Beckford died before his son was ten; and the widow had a mother's fears concerning the perils of public schools and universities. She was a Hamilton, of the Abercorn line; and from her Beckford derived his marked aristocratic instincts—they shine forth from his portraits by Romney—instincts poles apart from the principles which had nerved his father to make the famous speech to the throne, engraved upon his monument in the Guildhall, in which, said Chatham, 'the Spirit of Old England spoke.' Beckford boasted that, through his mother's pedigree, he was descended from every one of the Magna Charta barons who had issue; and his interest in genealogy and heraldry—which he said was 'a useful study before the time when the Visitations ceased,' since when 'the heralds have dispersed a vast quantity of spurious gentility'—led him to compile a 'Liber Veritatis' in which, anticipating Mr J. H. Round, though doubtless with imperfect learning, he so ruthlessly exposed the pretended lineage of many distinguished families that the work perforce remains still decently secluded in manuscript. But, if the noble ancestry of the mother overshadowed the Alderman's popular principles and made their offspring an aristocrat, an 'intellectual,' and a contemner of democracy, there may yet have been a determining or (to speak Mendelianly) 'dominant' strain on the father's side. The Beckfords, whatever their origin—the pedigree is sadly marred by the intervention of a tailor at Maidenhead in the seventeenth century—had been for three generations leading planters in Jamaica, where the family wealth was built up; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that, in spite of the robust energy of the Alderman, there may have lurked a

tendency, which appeared in his son, towards the indolence and languor of an enervating climate.

Whatever his inborn tendencies, Beckford's bringing up did little to check them. He evidently had his own wilful way; and the story is related how the old Duchess of Queensberry once rebuked him for his pertness. She sent for the great family Bible and made the boy read a passage from Proverbs. 'There it was, young man,' she said impressively, 'that I learnt my manners.' His tutor, Lettice, a clergyman whose very name speaks amiable repose and whose survival to the age of ninety-four rewarded the even current of his vitality, read the classics and philosophy with him assiduously, and to good purpose, for he turned out a pupil who was well read not only in Greek and Latin, but in French and English, and knew his 'Don Quixote' and his 'Gil Blas' as well as his Horace and Homer. But the tutor, though he held his pupil's affection, could not bind his romantic tastes. Probably he made no such attempt, but was wisely content to let the boy develope on his own lines, which were at least innocent and intellectual.

Lord Chatham wrote to William Pitt, in 1773, when 'little Beckford, my young vivid friend,' was thirteen, 'He is just as much compounded of the elements of *air* and *fire* as he was. A due proportion of *terrestrial* solidity will, I trust, come and make him perfect.' Chatham's hope came to nothing; there was little of solid earth about Beckford at any time, though fifteen years afterwards the Duchess of Berwick 'thinks from the tone of our conversation in the morning that I am now a little sobered, and may possibly get through this thorny world without losing my wits on its briars.' When he recorded this slightly comforting judgment, he had still seven years to play with before the day when he ran races with the maids of honour at Queluz at the command of the Infanta of Portugal, and danced the *bolero* with the enchanting Antonita, 'like one of us,' as Donna Carlotta expected he would—'for I abhor unsuccessful enterprises.' He was still all 'air and fire,' and never permitted himself unsuccessful enterprises; so he won his race and danced his *bolero* with the same enthusiasm that made him 'spring' and 'bound' and 'run' when other folk were content to walk, or at the most

discreetly trot. 'You English are strangely given to locomotion,' remarked the Prior of St Vincent, 'and I perceive that of all English you are not the least nimble.'

He was a well of enthusiasm—'fiery enthusiasm, without which life is dull and stagnant,' as he says; and whether its object were the beauty of nature, 'the glorious scenery of the clouds,' the magic of the gale, the melancholy of the pine-wood; or the swift excitement of coursing a sprightly Irish girl, to the dismay of the less favoured Açafatas of the Queen of Portugal's household; or the penetrating wail of Jomelli's Requiem; or in later life the winning of rare folios against the competition of the formidable Bohn;—that passionate zeal remained with him all his life. It was the secret of his amazing vitality. Vivid intellectual interests and intense joy of life kept his age green in spite of years beyond the ordinary span.

The common impression about Beckford, we fancy, is that he was an eccentric genius who wrote a clever tale—of that old-fashioned imitative Oriental style which nobody now reads—at one sitting, when he was scarcely more than a boy, and never afterwards did anything except build foolish towers, collect books and pictures, and shut himself up in suspicious, if not disreputable, seclusion behind impenetrable walls. It was probably a misfortune for its author that 'Vathek' made the sensation it produced on its publication in 1786. It secured its author a reputation akin to that of 'one-speech Hamilton.' It was not indeed such a *tour de force* as Cyrus Redding, probably misunderstanding a reminiscence of Beckford's own, made it out to be; for, instead of 'three days and two nights of hard labour,' during which he never took off his clothes, the tale occupied Beckford through several months of 1782 and was still undergoing revision and expansion for three years more. Nor did it spring complete from its writer's brain without much preparatory study. Dr Conant, in her elaborate and admirable history of 'The Oriental Tale in England,' has shown that some at least of the most striking ideas in 'Vathek,' such as the sinners with the flaming hearts in that stupendous description of the Hall of Eblis, which is the one supreme stroke of genius in the tale, are derived from Gueulette's collection of 'Mogul Tales' or Bignon's 'Adventures of Abdullah, son of Hanif.' There are signs

of the influence of Voltaire and Hamilton, traces of French wit and malicious satire such as we see in 'Zadig,' even a tinge of Johnson's moralising vein. 'Vathek' is no unique performance, but an epitome of most of the leading characteristics of the Oriental tale as already developed in the East and copied and modified in Europe. Beckford undoubtedly borrowed, but, as Dr Conant says, and proves by extracts, 'in every instance he improved upon his originals.' 'Vathek,' we agree, is not a great book, but the spirit of the 'Arabian Nights' pervades it, and above all it sounds the true note of wonder and of terror. The final horror of the Hall of Eblis has given it a right to immortality: there, says Dr Conant,

'from the moment when Vathek and Nouronihar approach the dark mountains guarding the infernal regions until they meet their doom, the note of horror is sustained. "A deathlike stillness reigned over the mountain and through the air; the moon dilated on a vast platform the shade of the lofty columns which reached from the terrace almost to the clouds; the gloomy watch-towers were veiled by no roof, and their capitals, of an architecture unknown in the records of the earth, served as an asylum for the birds of darkness, which, alarmed at the approach of such visitants, fled away croaking. . . ." When they eagerly followed the evil Giaour to an inner treasure-chamber, they heard from "the great Soliman" himself an account of his ambitions, his evil deeds, and his terrible punishment. He "raised his hands towards Heaven . . . and the Caliph discerned through his bosom, which was transparent as crystal, his heart enveloped in flames." . . . When the inevitable hour came, their hearts "immediately took fire, and they at once lost the most precious of the gifts of Heaven—Hope."

Beckford's genius, which, as Hazlitt acutely remarked, 'hath a devil,' transformed his materials; but he had long been an entranced reader of Oriental romance, though his pretensions to anything approaching Oriental scholarship must be ignored. It was in his family, for did not the author of the Grammont Memoirs also write 'Les Quatre Facardins'? The example of his courtly kinsman may have partly led Beckford to attempt and to achieve the feat, temerarious indeed in an Englishman, of writing a classic in French and getting some one else to translate it into his native English; and one of his

whimsical anticipations, when he had perfected 'Vathek,' was the thought that 'Count Hamilton will smile on me when we are introduced to each other in Paradise.' So marked was young Beckford's passion for Eastern tales of wonder and magic that Chatham strongly advised Lettice to keep the 'Arabian Nights' from his pupil. It was of no avail. The spirit of romance, of wonder, of dreamy mysticism, had enthralled the boy's whole mind; and it never left him. His 'romanceishness,' as he called it, was his pride.

'Vathek'—that rare compound of 'the fantastic and the sublime,' as Dr Garnett well termed it—was not Beckford's first book, though it was the first to bring him fame. Besides an early skit (the 'Biographical Memoirs of Extraordinary Painters'), he had printed a volume of 'Dreams, Waking Thoughts, and Incidents,' compiled from the letters he wrote on his first journey to Italy in 1781-2; and these letters, if any one had read them, would have revealed 'Vathek' in the making. But no one did read them, because their author, under family pressure, destroyed the whole edition, save six copies, before publication. It was not till over fifty years later that he ventured to issue them in a revised and slightly mutilated form in his 'Italy, with Sketches of Spain and Portugal'—cordially reviewed by Lockhart in the 'Quarterly Review,' June 1834—which, with the 'Excursion to the Monasteries of Alcobaça and Batalha,' forms a masterpiece of descriptive travel.

The original volume was reprinted in 1891 from the British Museum copy by the late Mr G. T. Bettany. It is one of the most fascinating of sentimental journeys; and the sensitiveness to every impression of nature, the acute observation of men, the whimsical fancy and cynical humour, which it displays, give it a charm and value of its own, apart from the light it throws upon the author's character. Of Beckford's letters Dr Garnett wrote truly that 'his pictures, while brilliantly clear in outline, are yet steeped in the rich hues of his own peculiar feeling; he approaches every object from its most picturesque side, and the measure of his eloquence is the interest with which it has inspired him. His colouring is magical; he paints nature like Salvator, and courts like Watteau.' Dr Garnett was referring more

especially, we believe, to the later volumes of travel; but the same marks of genius are found even in the earliest letters, written at an age when most boys have not acquired the beginnings of the art of expression, even if they already possess the sensitiveness which give Beckford's descriptions their special charm.

The chief merit of Mr Lewis Melville's 'Life and Letters of William Beckford' is that it prints a large number of early letters which have never before been published, and, by letting Beckford speak for himself, enables us to understand the nature of the author of 'Vathek' more intimately than even the self-revelation of 'Dreams' permitted. Cyrus Redding's biography was perhaps too severely condemned by Dr Garnett as 'an intolerable piece of book-making'; it had at least the virtue of being compiled by a man who, if incapable of fully understanding his rich and complex subject, had the rare advantage of knowing Beckford personally and holding long conversations with him. The reports of these conversations may be very inadequate, and are certainly influenced by the rather commonplace medium through which they percolate. But they are valuable for all that; and Mr Melville, whose work does not altogether escape a similar charge, would have been badly off in many parts of his own volume if he had not drawn freely from Beckford's reminiscences as reported by Redding. Mr Melville has not written an ideal biography, though he takes the right view of his subject—a view to which Mr Charles Whibley's brilliant essay in 'The Pageantry of Life' may have pointed the way; but he has collected with much industry from many sources which have either been overlooked or only partially explored. The late Mr Alfred Morrison's letters have, as all know, been admirably catalogued; but they have not hitherto been used with the freedom here shown. The letters to Clark the bookseller, of slight interest except to collectors, were quoted by Mrs Townshend Mayer in an article on 'The Sultan of Lansdown Tower,' published in 'Temple Bar' ten years ago. The Pedley letters about Beckford's 'Adventure in Diplomacy' have been used by Mr Melville himself before, and their importance seems to us exaggerated; for the proposed diplomatic arrangement, which was probably as fantastic as even

Beckford could wish, was summarily dismissed with a contemptuous snub by William Pitt.

But there is another source from which Mr Melville has drawn materials of the greatest interest. Beckford's second daughter married the tenth Duke of Hamilton, and inherited the remains of her father's property, including his pictures and papers. All the intimate correspondents of Beckford's youth predeceased him by many years; and, to judge by the anxiety he displayed about his correspondence with Lady Hamilton, he took the greatest pains to recover his letters when such a correspondent died. The Charter Room at Hamilton Palace is a storehouse of these letters; and, so far as the Beckford papers are concerned, Mr Melville is 'the first that ever burst into that silent sea.' About two hundred unpublished letters have been selected for Mr Melville's book by permission of the Duke of Hamilton; and they form an invaluable addition to our knowledge of the writer. The only shadow upon our gratitude to their editor is the misgiving we feel about the letters he did not select. What did he leave behind? It is, of course, possible that family reserve may quite properly have withheld some of the letters from publication, but we confess we should have been better satisfied if we had been given some clue to Mr Melville's principle of selection. What, too, of the letters *to* Beckford, those letters which he cherished 'in a drawer lined with blue, the colour of the Aether'? A one-sided correspondence gives but a half-picture.

This consideration is the more important because certain signs in the text of the letters printed in this handsome volume warn us that it is not safe to trust too implicitly to Mr Melville's accuracy as a transcriber, or as a proof-reader. It is true he says that the Hamilton letters were 'carefully copied' for him by a lady; but we presume that he put himself to the pains of collating the copies with the originals. Yet, if he did so, one can only wonder at the result. The text teems with errors which have all the appearance of being, not uncorrected misprints, but misreadings of the original manuscripts. Such a sentence as 'Like a sick child I cry after you and Wm Halz is become quite loathsome in my sight' (p. 160) is nonsense. Who was Wm Halz,

never mentioned elsewhere, and why should he become loathsome? Of course, an elementary notion of handwriting at once makes the emendation; 'I cry after you and Wm [a person often mentioned before]. Italy is become quite loathsome.' He was writing from Naples.

Again, on the same page, we read how Beckford, if only he might enjoy a pleasure which is somewhat indiscreetly printed, 'would cast himself on thorns of Tron.' We rather admire 'thorns of Tron'; it has a mysterious, even Scandinavian sound; but we have no doubt at all that it is really 'thorns of Iron.' On the very next page we find Beckford asking, 'Why, as upon Gideon's fleece, are Readers of Heaven to descend on me alone?' He might, indeed, well ask; the fall of manna from the sky was comparatively imponderable. But if we emend 'Readers' as 'the dews' the question becomes more reminiscent of the Book of Judges. On the same page (161) a letter mentioning Lady Hamilton's 'being much indisposed' is dated August 27, 1782; but August 25 is understood to be the date of her death. On p. 164 a letter is manifestly misdated, 1783 for 1782. The letter to Henley on p. 135 is dated April 13, 1786, yet it obviously replies to one from Henley of April 26 [1785] and was, we suppose, written before the letter of June 11, 1785, printed on p. 131. On p. 134 we find Beckford's address given as 'Château de la Tour, près de Vevay-en-Seine,' for 'Suisse.' On p. 89 we read of 'steamers' floating at Margate in 1780! The frequent mistakes in the French may be misprints; it is safe to say that Beckford was not likely to write 'J'ai entendu dire' or 'bonne pour fortissier les Vieillards.'

These are but a few quite obvious and elementary blunders which we happen to have noticed. How many more might be discovered by a proper collation of the originals with the text one cannot of course guess; but the effect of those we have mentioned is to undermine our confidence in Mr Melville's transcripts. And an editor who is careless in the transcription of documents does not appear to us to be exceptionally qualified for selecting documents. We must also regret the frequent omission of the names of the persons addressed, where internal evidence (if there were no superscription) would often identify them; and the lack of adequate annota-

tion to explain references and allusions is much to be deplored. We say nothing of the imperfect bibliography and index. Apart from these defects, and judged as a whole, the biography is wanting in courage. There are mysterious incidents, and hinted scandals, connected with Beckford's life, which ought, we think, to have been faced and explained. There is no need to refer to them more particularly here, especially as we are convinced that he was wholly innocent and that the slanders originated in malice and, in one instance, in mean and scurvy ingratitude. Whatever we may think about 'Wm,' we hold Beckford to have been a pure-minded and clean-living man. His letters to his cousin Louisa Pitt (Mrs Peter Beckford), and his confidences to his wife Lady Margaret (Gordon), prove this.

Indeed, though frequently 'over head and ears' in love, as he frankly confesses, Beckford's 'affairs' seem to have been of the romantic order, the love-makings of a man who was 'in love with Love,' as the saying is; and his relations with women were those of the romantic amorist. The whole of his large correspondence carries a clean impression. He appears to have been one of those men in whom sentiment and romance subjugate normal passion, whilst his refined intellect and poetic imagination confirmed a fastidious aversion from the coarser indulgences of appetite. No doubt he was often misconstrued. People talked gossip about his relations with his 'lovely Louisa,' the heiress of the Rivers estates. 'You know but too well,' he writes in his last letter to her in 1784, 'the venom that has been spit at us both;' and there is enough in his letters to found a wrong construction by those who hold the usual cynical views on 'mixed friendships.' We, on the other hand, believe that any woman would have been perfectly safe at the hands of this chivalrous, romantic lover, who, like Ariel, was 'a spirit too delicate To act [all] earthy and abhorred commands.' Indeed, in his 'passion's golden purity' he resembles none so much as Shelley (if we may venture the comparison); and the essence of 'Epipsychidion' inspires his adorations:—

'To whatsoe'er of dull mortality
Is mine, remain a vestal sister still;
To the intense, the deep, th' imperishable,

Not mine but me, henceforth be thou united,
Even as a bride, delighting and delighted.'

Shelley would have understood Beckford. To the poet 'the caverns of my dreamy youth' were real and mysterious; he knew the sweet 'stops Of planetary music heard in trance;' and to him 'the crimson pulse of living morning' was a thing alive, as the red flame of sunset was to the prose-poet.

The early letters which we owe to Mr Melville's research reveal Beckford 'in the caverns of his dreamy youth.' They are written to a few very intimate friends—the same, indeed, we think, to whom the letters which were printed in 'Dreams' were written; and of these one only was a man. This was Alexander Cozens, the painter, whose parentage itself must have fascinated such a lover of the *baroque* as Beckford; for Cozens was a son of Peter the Great by the woman whom that uxorious Tsar took home with him from Deptford. Cozens had evidently been closely associated with Beckford's youth at Fonthill; and the intimate correspondence went on till the painter's death. His other chief correspondents were his married cousin Louisa, daughter of Lord Rivers, and Lady Hamilton, Sir William's first wife, with whom he stayed at Naples in 1781 and 1782; to these may be added his half-sister and early playmate Elizabeth Harvey. The letters cover the period of his first entry into the world, from his visit to Switzerland in his seventeenth year to his marriage in his twenty-third. After his wife's death at the old château of Tour de Peilz, in 1786, they become rare and almost always formal, though his literary instinct made him take a pride in giving a graceful turn even to refusals of beggars. His friends were dead—Lady Hamilton in 1782, Cozens four years later, and Louisa in 1791. Whether the 'letters' from Portugal and Spain in 1787 were really letters or journals cannot be determined. In any case they were so edited by the writer that they contain no personal references that could identify the receiver; and one is led to believe that Beckford's intimate correspondence ceased altogether about the time, though not on account, of his marriage: for Lady Margaret was 'free from prejudice and wifeishness.' 'I lost many friends,' he said sadly to Redding, 'and was almost fearful to acquire new, lest I should

lose them in turn.' At all events he did not acquire any; and it is possible that the slanders which were spread about him in 1785—of which he wrote in June that 'Lady M. [his wife] and myself have such excellent reasons for being disgusted with many of our relations and have been so constantly deceived and persecuted that we are determined to get rid of them all by going to Switzerland'—may account for the breaking off of his correspondence even with his 'lovely Louisa,' though she lived six years more.

We obtain, at any rate, from these new letters, taken together with those published in 'Dreams,' an almost perfect picture of an unique personality during the vivid years that mark the passage from youth to early manhood. We do not believe that any other boy of seventeen ever wrote such letters as these. They show a highly cultivated mind, a refined though untrained taste, a gift of humorous description, a brilliant power of expression (which Mr Melville has slightly marred by a needless punctiliousness in reproducing the astonishing misspellings of the originals); but they show much more. They show us not only the beginnings of a master of style, a genius 'which hath a devil,' but a poet in all but metre; a mystic and a dreamer who saw with Wordsworth's eyes when Wordsworth was yet in that early childhood dimly conscious of the 'intimations of immortality'; a spirit bred in the cradle of classicism and sworn to classical traditions, yet full of the new life which he did not realise; an English romantic before his time. They show, too, that at seventeen the boy had formed his philosophy of life and chosen his path. Everything that he afterwards did is foreshadowed in these letters, even to the building of towers and the solitude of high walls. The fantasies which bore fruit in 'Vathek' may be seen in almost every letter. He was always 'playing at Indians,' or imagining visits to the mountains of the moon or the tents of the Yemen. The key of his whole life and character is to be found in the following extracts from letters written in Italy in 1780, in which he resolves 'to be a child for ever,' with a child's joy in life, a child's irresponsibility and lack of self-control, a child's egoism, impatience, and unreasoning impulses, but withal a child's quick imagination, vitality, and charm.

'Nothing, I think, will prevent me daring to be happy in defiance of glory and reputation. Why should I desire the applause of Creatures I despise? . . . I am now approaching the age when the World in general expect me to lay aside my dreams, abandon my soft illusions and start into public life. How greatly are they deceived! how firmly am I resolved to be a child for ever! Next summer I hope will give you a proof of my constancy, when, if I return from Rome, you will find me stretched under my beeches on the Hill of Pan, or running wildly amongst the thickets which cover the Satyr's range. At night we will retire to the cell and consult our Arabians, penetrate into remote countries and fancy we discover the high mountains of Gabel al Comar. . . . Our pleasures will be continually varying: sometimes we shall inhabit our huts on the borders of the lake, and sometimes our vast range of solemn subterraneous chambers, visible by the glow of lamps and filled with cabalistic images. . . . Another moment will find us encamped upon the green Desert we were so fond of, drinking our coffee in open tents, and dreaming ourselves in Yamen. Next day perhaps we shall repair to the stone of power, where, to speak the language of Fingal, "Spirits descend by night in dark red streams of fire." In this imaginary style our days will glide smoothly along, and we shall sink into our tombs contented and inglorious.'

It was among the pines of Fonthill that he nursed those dreams which made the whole of his inner life—'that deep music which is a soul within the soul.' It was there that he grew to love nature as a spirit with a voice, and listened to what the winds were saying to him. 'The winds are whispering to me the strangest things . . . and my ear is filled with aerial conversations.' 'The Gales are my counsellors—from them I hear of past and future events—they sing of departed seers and heroes, and bring me Indian intelligence.' 'Visions play around me, and at some solemn moments I am cast into prophetic Trances.' Readers of Mr Algernon Blackwood's beautiful mystical novel will remember how magically the winds talked to Nixie in 'the crack' between yesterday and to-morrow. Beckford did not need the 'Education of Uncle Paul' to teach him this; he would have understood every dream and imagination. He was almost always lonely and sad; 'not an Animal comprehends me,' he complains, but he took a morbid pleasure in indulg-

ing his melancholy in 'the dusk of the twilight.' He thought he heard voices, and saw living forms. 'Everything in my present visionary state is undecided,' and he knows not whether he really hears the 'voices of those invisible beings who brought me hither among the whispers of the groves,' for he 'cannot properly be said to hear distinctly or behold with clearness.' 'All my consolation is centred in Fingal and the wild music of the winds. I sit for hours listening to the murmurs of night.' Even to the reverend and respectable Lettice he confides his imaginations, and tells him how his fancy wrought with the flight of the rooks at Fonthill,

'rising like motes on the horizon . . . now enlarging their circles and taking a bolder sweep; the whole heaven was in motion with innumerable wings. . . . How earnestly did I wish for the talisman of Lockhart that I might address myself to these winged legions and ask them from whence they came. Over what woods have ye flown? I should say. Tell me what scenes ye have surveyed. Communicate to me your joy at returning every night to those cities in the groves formed amongst innumerable boughs where ye employ so well your ingenuity. Did I behold them with your eyes, each branch would seem the pillar of a palace and every crooked twig a stately ornament. Tell me if the tufts of moss on yonder grotesque oak stumps are not boasted by your Nobles as hangings of *goodlie* arras; and those hollow cavities beneath in the tree, are they not regarded by your Poets as awful caverns where many adventures have happened to rooks of yore.'

The sober Mr Lettice considered 'the beauties of no common sort,' but doubted if 'common readers' would appreciate them. It is the more marvellous when we remember that this was written by a lad of eighteen. How his imagination reflected and transfigured the varied aspects of nature, above all the lights and shadows of the sky, is seen in his description of the misty scene from 'the summit of the mountain of Salève, September 13, 1777,' a passage which strangely recalls the impressions that 'John Inglesant' felt as he gazed on the mists above Siena :

'What majesty in those volumes of grey cloud that sweep along, directing their course eastward! Mark! they are succeeded by curling volumes of blueish grey, like the smoke of

a declining volcano. How gently they bend and then fly downwards in a misty haze. What are those objects just emerging? horrid forms, like crucified malefactors, start from the gloom; another blast discovers them in the shape of weather-beaten oaks whose fantastic branches have stood the brunt of tempests for ages. A gleam of pale yellow light mellowes the white surface of the boundless cloud; before my eyes it gives way; it seems to rock; it opens and discloses a long line of distant Alps; but another cloud fleets from the north and closes the faint glimpse, which waves a moment, and again opening, not only the Alps but the summits of the woods appear. The sun struggles with the vapours, the clouds chase one another; the white cloud so universal a moment ago is broken, it fleets, it dissipates; the beams pierce the vapours on every side; long streaks of azure sky, partial prospects open like an Heaven; rivers and extensive regions all unfold; my senses are confounded. I know not where to fix my sight. See! the Lake appears in all its azure glory. A boundless scene is unveiled, the creation of an instant. . . . Five hours are elapsed, hours of wonder and gratitude. . . . The mellow tints of evening begin to prevail. I shall wait the moon ere I descend the mountain. . . .

A severe taste, matured by half a century of study, led Beckford to prune or omit such rhapsodies when he edited his letters for his book of travels; or it may be that the fear of ridicule which induced him to suppress 'Dreams' in its original form, in deference to the alarmed remonstrances of his family, still influenced him in later life. 'How can I endure my *Book of Dreams*,' he wrote to Henley in 1783, 'when I reflect what disagreeable *waking thoughts* it has occasioned us?' He speaks of 'the hiss of serpents at Fonthill,' and adds 'neither Orlando nor Brandi[mart] were ever more tormented by demons and spectres in an enchanted castle than William Beckford in his own hall by his nearest relatives.' For the same reason, doubtless, we miss from 'Dreams' the following delightful letter written at Margate—not the Margate of to-day:

'I have passed the Ivory Gate, and have entered the Empire of Dreams. The airy people are buzzing around one like moths that haunt the honeysuckles of an evening. Some of these phantoms are inconceivably beautiful, others so horrid and menacing that I shiver at their recollection, and feel at this very moment a cold sweat trickling down my

temples. You cannot conceive how many singular anecdotes I have learnt of my brother dreamers since my arrival in this visionary land. The great tree, which, if you recollect, shades the entrance of the infernal regions, swarms at this moment with Cyranos de Bergerac and Bishop Berkeley's acquaintance, and the bough immediately above my head is so loaded with the *Familiars* of Arabians that if it breaks down I shall be smothered for ever. Already half a hundred have detached themselves and adhere so closely to me that, had I the force of Neptune or Polypheme, I could not shake them off. I wish I could contrive a method of despatching two or three of these rainbow-coloured Children to you.'

To the mere sane man, of course, all this seems utter rubbish, the vapourings of a morbid hysterical sentimentalist; but poets, happily, are not mere sane men, and that Beckford was a poet in all but prosody must be evident to all who have read thus far—one who dwelt

'Amid the enchanted mountains and the caves
Of divine sleep, and on the air-like waves
Of wonder-level dream.'

We can well believe that the 'serpents at Fonthill' did not find him easy to live with. He hated ordinary society: 'G. S. [George Selwyn?] is just arrived, and I am almost out of my senses. There is such a confusion and such a tattling. O Lord, what would I give to be in that New Jerusalem where blessed spirits glide slipshod about without making the least disturbance.' 'The animated trivets and footstools that amble around me put me out of all patience'; so he steals out to the company of his woods under the dim blueish light of the vapoury moon, which 'changed them to groves of coral.' There in solitude he could dream his dreams of wanderings among 'the proud Catoquilqui,' and hear 'the feet of multitudes descending the slopes of a savannah in the silence of the night.' He is always singing 'the praises of a retreat and the comfort of solitude,' when he could feel 'The sunbeams of those wells which ever leap Under the lightnings of the soul.' London he detested, with its 'dull impertinent society, solemn idleness, and approved dissipation.' No, he will seclude himself from the world, and 'converse many hours every day with you and Mesron and Nouronihar. I am determined to enjoy my

dreams, my phantasies, and all my singularity,' and 'talk of the Incas, of their gentle empire, the solemn worship of the sun,' but never of General Gage. 'English phlegm and frostiness nips my slight texture to death. I cannot endure the composed indifference of my countrymen.'

Nor was he any happier in Geneva routs. 'Though, God knows,' he writes in 'Dreams,'

'I am unconscious of any extreme partiality for Calvin, I cannot help thinking his severe discipline wisely adapted to the moral constitution of this starch bit of a republic which he took to his stern embraces. But these days of rigidity and plainness are completely gone by; the soft spirit of toleration, so eloquently insinuated by Voltaire, has removed all thorny fences, familiarised his numerous admirers with every innovation, and laughed scruples of every nature to scorn. Voltaire, indeed, may justly be styled the architect of that gay, well-ornamented bridge, by which free-thinking and immorality have been smuggled into the republic, under the mask of philosophy and liberality and sentiment. These monsters, like the Sin and Death of Milton, have made speedy and irreparable havoc.'

Beckford revolted from the gentlemanly fashions of the day. As he wrote from Thun, in 1777:

'To receive visits and to return them, to be mighty civil, well-bred, quiet, prettily dressed and smart, is to be what your old ladies call in England a charming gentleman, and what those of the same stamp abroad know by the appellation of "un homme comme il faut." Such an Animal how often am I doomed to be! To pay and to receive fulsome compliments from the learned, to talk with modesty and precision, to sport an opinion gracefully, . . . to despise poetry and venerable antiquity, murder taste, abhor imagination, detest all the charms of eloquence unless capable of mathematical demonstration, and more than all to be vigorously incredulous, is to gain the reputation of good sound sense.

'Delivered up to a sword, bag and pretty cloathes, I am obliged to go dangling about to assemblies of sweet dear prim tulipy variegated Creatures, oppressed with powder and pomatum, and tired with the lisping nonsense I hear all around me. Fifty times have I wished myself amongst all the bears of the Pole. At home I am infested with a species which, like mathematical points, have neither *parts* nor magnitude. Alas! fat bulls of Bashan encompass me around—tubs upon two legs, crammed with stupidity, amble about me,

some of them mere trivets and footstools, supple, pliant, and complaisant; others people of good sound sense and solid acquirements. I love to bark a tough understanding; it is much better than to be always peeling willows.'

Such a 'tough understanding' he found in the elder Huber, of whom he gives this humorous description:

'In the first rank shines my friend Huber, whose particular excellence would be very hard to discover, as he is as changeable as the wind and sometimes as boisterous. One day he wanders with his faucons over hill and dale, marsh and river, wood and garden; the next, shut up in his cabinet, he will reflect on the nature of the Universe and the first principle of all things. The following week, perhaps, he is totally engaged in drawing caricatures and saying the queerest, drollest things imaginable; and if he writes during this humour, probably it will be a dissertation upon the nature [of cats'] whiskers. See him the day after this whim has left him and you will find a profound musician composing "Misereres" and declaiming recitative with all the taste and judgment of an eminent professor. Whilst this rage lasts he holds forth with all the energy of an ancient bard and is generally poetical. It is during this fit we exult in the glories of Ariosto and Shakespeare, give a loose to our imaginations, and repeat whole passages by heart in so vociferous a style as makes all the auditors stare again and say the Devil has left the swine to possess us. A few hours elapse. Come, and you will find him in a coarse jacket, feeding his birds of prey, all over filthiness and garbage. . . . You will find him delightful in the evening, serene, full of agreeable ideas, ideas that breathe the most delicate sensibility. . . . I would continue tracing this Genius through all his windings and following him through the labyrinth of his ideas and occupations . . . but it would be as easy to pursue a meteor or to morris after that dancing exhalation which our country folks call the Will o' the Wisp.'

This extract shows that Beckford was not always in the world of dreams and visions. He was quite aware of the two sides of his nature. 'Reason and fancy,' he wrote in 1779, 'are my Sun and Moon. The first dispels vapours and clears up the face of things; the other throws over all Nature a dim haze, and may be styled the Dream of Delusions.' The first doubtless predominated when he went to talk with Voltaire, who 'has asked me to spend two or three days with him at Ferney; he adores,

worships and glorifies Ariosto as well as myself, so we shall agree very [well], I believe.' Apparently they did, though we have no account of the conversations between the philosopher and this confident youth, and no record of any such visit having taken place; but Beckford was at least presented to Voltaire, who was so pleased with him that he gave him 'the blessing of a very old man.' Voltaire's 'blessing' must have been an unique privilege. We should have liked to hear what Mlle Necker, not yet Mme de Staël, thought of the young romantic when they met at Coppet—a very symmetrical young lady, who might have sat, as the Princess Borghese did, to Canova, and made a respectable statue.'

Indeed, his 'visionary states' were apt to alternate with frankly cynical moods, especially when untoward human incidents broke in upon his raptures; and then he would vent a sardonic humour upon the interruption. Like Swift, he cordially hated the 'Animal called man,' whilst keeping a warm heart for Jack or Peter—or, better still, Mrs Peter; and his criticisms of the people he did not like are often mordant. The somewhat acid wit which played upon such subjects, and the quick sense of the incongruous which saved him from utter sentimentality, add the needful salt to his descriptions of life. Happening to visit a Moravian establishment, what instantly struck him in the midst of 'grass plots in a deplorable way' was 'one ragged goat, their only inhabitant, on a little expiatory scheme, perhaps, for the failings of the fraternity'; and, whilst a 'slovenly disciple harangued very pathetically upon celestial love, . . . I caught a glimpse of some pretty sempstresses, warbling melodious hymns as they sat needling and thimbling at their windows above. I had a great inclination to have approached this busy group, but a roll of the brother's eye corrected me.' When, at Mynheer Van Something's museum, a 'Dutch porpoise' intruded upon his dreams as he was gazing upon 'enamelled flasks of oriental essences,' exhaling those 'aromatic' and 'exotic' perfumes which ravished his soul, he fled: 'I tottered down the staircase, entered the cabinets of natural history, and was soon restored to my sober senses. A grave hippopotamus contributed a great deal to their re-establishment.' He did not appreciate the Low Countries, but

he admired their placid swine basking in the sun and wallowing at their ease 'till the hour of death and bacon arrives, when capacious paunches await them. If I may judge from the healthy looks and reposed complexions of the Flemings, they have every reason to expect a peaceful tomb.' Even his delight in hearing Marchetti sing the part of Sisera at the Mendicanti at Venice did not shut out the incongruities of the orchestra :

'You know, I suppose, it is entirely of the female gender; and nothing is more common than to see a delicate white hand journeying across an enormous double bass, or a pair of roseate cheeks puffing with all their efforts at a French horn. Some that are grown old and Amazonian, who have abandoned their fiddles and their lovers, take vigorously to the kettle-drum; and one poor limping lady, who has been crossed in love, now makes an admirable figure on the bassoon.'

Beckford's spiritual ecstasies did not extend to Catholic rites, of which he speaks with scant reverence. Even his special saint, 'the blessed St Anthony, who betook himself to the conversion of fish, after the heretics would lend no ear to his discourses,' does not escape ridicule; as when the faithful 'rub their noses against the identical bones of St Anthony, which, it is avowed, exude a balsamic odour.' He was, indeed, frankly a pagan, at least in those days, and much given to depositing 'votive offerings' at forsaken shrines. The sight of the 'whole circle of saints' nests,' which vulgarised the Coliseum, disgusted him :

A few lazy abbots were at their devotions before them; such as would have made a lion's mouth water; fatter, I dare say, than any saint in the whole martyrology, and ten times more tantalising. I looked first at the dens where wild beasts used to be kept, to divert the magnanimous people of Rome with devastation and murder; then at the tame cattle before the altars. Heavens! thought I to myself, how times are changed!

And he sat down 'on a shattered frieze' in an ilex grove to dream of gladiators and triumphs. In a great cathedral the utmost he attained to was a certain paleness, due to the yellow tint of the light: 'I was sensible of the effect, and obtained at least the colour of sanctity.

Having remained some time in this pious hue, I returned home and feasted upon grapes and ortolans with great edification.' One does not forget the visit he made to a 'blessed hamlet,' and how 'two hags stalked forth with lanterns and invited us, with a grin which I shall always remember, to a dish of mustard and crows' gizzards.'

There is no doubt at all that, in spite of his dislike of society, and the airs he gave himself, Beckford could be an extremely agreeable companion. One has only to read his travels in Portugal to understand that he was welcome in all societies, not merely on account of his wealth and the lordly state in which he travelled—he had the ostentation of a caliph, and was delighted to find himself once mistaken for the Emperor himself travelling incognito in Germany—but for his brilliant talk and vivid animation. The Portuguese and Spanish sketches show us Beckford at his best as a man of the world, not a courtier, but courted and able to hold his own in courts, and to hold it with a fine insolence and gay impertinence that were evidently charming. We cannot forget that when the young nobles of Portugal attended a ball to dance with the little milliners and mantua-makers, Beckford merely sent 'my tailor.' But in his youth, with which alone we are dealing, he must have been captivating. Lady Hamilton would not have made him so completely at home at Caserta, nor have treasured his letters so carefully, had he not made himself dear to her.

No doubt their relations were drawn closer by their passionate devotion to music. 'We indulge our imaginations at home,' he wrote from Caserta in November 1780, 'and play strange dreams upon the pianoforte and talk in a melancholy visionary style.' Lady Hamilton (this was not Emma) played exquisitely; and Beckford not only played but sang. Long afterwards, in 1818, Samuel Rogers wrote to Byron about a visit he had paid 'to the Abbot of Fonthill,' and told how Beckford 'played and sang—and the effect was singular—like the peelings of a distant choir, now swelling, now dying away.' He had taken lessons from an exquisite player, no less than Mozart, probably during some unrecorded visit to Vienna, when the youthful prodigy of the concert-hall had not yet become the perfect composer; and Beckford used to tell how the air of 'Non più andrai' was

given him as a theme upon which he was to compose variations. As the 'Nozze di Figaro' was composed in the year 1786, this seems to fix approximately the date of these priceless lessons. Mozart must have found a pupil after his own heart, a passionate delicate-souled musician.

'Alas, it is very true' (Beckford writes to Lady Hamilton in that year), 'music destroys me; and what is worse, I love being destroyed. Rather had I die in this style than live in any other.' 'To-night I have been playing strange exotic tunes upon a harpsichord which your friend Mon' de Lamberg will soon have the glory of possessing. Such a harpsichord I think I have never touched. I have bespoken its brother. I flatter myself that one day or other I may hear you awaken it. Did you ever read in some Lapland history of certain gnomes who lurk in the mines and chasms of tremendous mountains? The music I have just now been composing was exactly such, I imagine, as elves and pigmies dance to—brisk and humming, moody and subterranean.'

'Music is ever my principal delight and comfort' (he writes from Paris in April 1781), 'and I am cruelly abused for loving it so well. Lord Morton [the ambassador, a connexion of the Hamiltons] reads me many a severe lecture upon this subject, and, waxing wiser and wiser, increaseth in stiffness every day. I fear I shall never be half so sapient, nor good for anything in this world but composing airs, building towers, forming gardens, collecting old Japan, and writing a journey to China or the moon.'

These prophetic words, written before he came of age, contain a curiously precise outline of his future life. It was spent exactly as he says, only he collected other things besides 'old Japan.' The towers and gardens all came true. We are conscious that we have done imperfect justice to the many and varied charms of Beckford's letters. We have dwelt on the poetic, dreamy side, to the neglect of the wit, the acute and humorous observation of men and manners, the appreciation of nature and of art, in which they abound. Our reason is that the visionary side of Beckford's nature really dominated all others, and forms the explanation of his half-century of almost complete seclusion in his successive houses at Fonthill and Bath. The fiery, eccentric old collector, who bullied Clark and Bohn about book-sales, was the same man we see in these youthful letters. His friends were

dead, and so we have not the same evidence as to his imaginings; but the man who played strange dreamy music to Rogers in 1818 was still the mystical enthusiast we have seen in Italy nigh forty years before, and remained the same till he died, still strangely young in face and alert in habits, a quarter of a century later. At seventy-eight he could boast of walking twenty or thirty miles a day without fatigue, and at 83 he still rode in the Park and to Hampstead Heath. Ten days before his death, which took place on May 2, 1844, he wrote, vehemently as always, to H. G. Bohn: 'The Nodier; the Nodier!—I must have that Cat. by any means—and at any cost.'

Moralists have had their say about William Beckford. They talk of misspent opportunities, great possessions squandered, a total lack of the sense of responsibility towards the beings—black but human—who procured his fortune, and an entirely ineffectual life spent upon 'follies' and hobbies. We are not concerned to deny the impeachment. We shall not quote his charities in extenuation, or pretend that he was unselfish. Beckford was an egoist and a hedonist, like the majority of men; the difference was that he boldly professed his creed and did not pretend to be what he was not. We suppose there was never a man with less of the hypocrite about him. He stands serenely sincere in his calm resolve to live his life in his own way, in spite of sneers and calumnies. 'Thay haif said: Quhat say thay: Lat thame say': Beckford might have quoted the motto of the Earl Marischal. There is no denying the ineffectual character of the life, or the lack of a sense of responsibility to others, even to his two children. All we say is that he resolved never to be anything else, and kept his resolution. It was, in truth, the very perversion of high purpose. We see a young man, scarcely more than a boy, with the makings of a poet; with sensitiveness to impressions of nature, of history, of legend, of romance; with a rare command of the splendid resources of language; with quick intuitions and sympathies; with the secret of love in purest idealism; with the visions of the mystic:—and the poet remains, metrically, silent. The few verses he wrote were better left unprinted. We see the author of a famous tale of magic and of horror, who never wrote another—or none worth its paper. We see a traveller,

so observant and intuitive, and at the same time so cultivated if not learned, that his letters are brilliant pictures of a world of courts and fashions that was passing away; and these letters remain buried for half a century, and are never again attempted—the traveller stays at home. We see a musician, who left no music; a scholar, in his degree, who left no work of scholarship; a builder whose towers fell down; a lover in whom love was dead before he was thirty and never rose again; an ardent friend who had no friends after early manhood. It sounds a piteous story.

Did Beckford feel it so? Or did the mystic's vision pierce the silent darkness and bring his friends back? He had ordered his life after his own desire, and so he lived it; and if loss and misfortunes came, loss of friends still worse than loss of wealth, he bore them bravely, and never showed the white feather to Fate. If he was punished, he never winced. 'I have never known a moment's *ennui*,' he said when near his end. He seemed to look back upon the life he had made, 'and behold it was very good.' But was he satisfied? He did not confess what memories saddened his lonely life, the ashes of old friendships, the love of 'dear dead women,' the hopes that were no more. Truly, with Mr Whibley, we may 'admire a courteous gentleman, splendid in prosperity, brave in adversity, who hated the world's interruption as heartily as he despised its malice, and who, notwithstanding the load of wealth and sycophancy, yet carved his own life into a definite and a personal shape'; yet, as we look on this picture and on that, on the old collector in his silent tower, and on the brilliant youth of pulsing promise shown in these letters, which have now been disinterred from their resting-place of sixty years, we can only feel 'the pity of it.'

STANLEY LANE-POOLE.

Art. 5.—DANTE'S THEORY OF POETRY.

1. *Dante: De Vulgari Eloquentia*. Ed. Pio Rajna, for the Italian Dante Society. Florence: Le Monnier, 1897.
2. *Guiraut von Bornelh*. By A. Kolsen. Berlin: Vogt, 1894.
3. *Guido Guinizelli: l'origine dello stil novo*. By G. Salvadori. ('La Rassegna Nazionale,' July, 1892.) Florence, 1892.
4. *La Vita giovanile di Guido Cavalcanti*. By G. Salvadori.
5. *Sulla Vita giovanile di Dante*. By G. Salvadori. Rome: Società editrice Dante Alighieri.
6. *Dante, Guido Guinizelli, and Arnaut Daniel*. By W. P. Ker. ('Modern Language Review,' 1909.) Cambridge: University Press.
7. *Dante, sein Leben und sein Werk*. By F. X. Kraus. Berlin: Grote, 1897.
8. *A History of Criticism*. By G. Saintsbury. Three vols. London: Blackwood, 1903-4.
9. *Die Kunstlehre Dante's*. By H. Janitschek. Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1892.
10. *L' Archeologia dell' Arte in Dante*. By Aluigi Cossio. ('Il Giornale Dantesco,' vol. xvii.) Florence: Olschki, 1909.
11. *Dante's Convivio*. Translated, with Introduction and Notes, by W. W. Jackson. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909.

AN original treatise upon the art of poetry, put forth in the early years of the fourteenth century, would in any case be of singular interest. Since Horace delivered his charter of golden mediocrity in the famous letter to the Pisos, an enormous body of verse had sprung up all over the old Western empire, and beyond it, which naïvely ignored the critical findings of his urbane good sense. The Germanic and Celtic worlds had not only fresh things to say in poetry; they had things to say which enlarged the horizons of poetry itself. Not that there was, anywhere, a formal or conscious revolt against ancient literature—a 'Romantic movement' pitting itself, like those of the early nineteenth century, against the 'classicism' of the old world. Conscious revolt often, as

in Bacon's hostility to Aristotle, disguises a deep-seated continuity. Medieval poetry had a good deal of the real originality which sometimes underlies devout discipleship. The tradition was profoundly honoured, but all its profiles were refracted in alien minds. Virgil had become the mightiest of wizards; and Benoit de San Maure believed he was telling the authentic story of Troy when he supplemented the State records of the anger of Achilles with the great love-romance of Troilus and Creseide. To poetry so new the critical theories of antiquity could not possibly be fully adequate.

But the medieval world was very slow to supplement them. Christianity, absorbed in its task of transforming life, had, as such, no place for the delights of literature, far less any resources for critically interpreting and justifying them. The more impetuous Fathers of the Church denounced all poetry as a sugared lie; and the net result, for centuries, of the intervention of Christian intellect in this field was to merge all the literary problems of poetry in the fundamental question of its right to exist at all. Ulysses, hurrying with stopped ears past the sirens' song, was not the man to analyse its curious felicities. Ancient authorities were called in, as expert witnesses, by counsel on both sides. The prosecution appealed to Plato's doctrine that all art is 'three removes from Reality.'* The defence pointed to Horace's suggestion that it is rather a pill—the 'useful' artfully coated with the 'sweet'—and that the sweetness which 'removes' the patient from the reality it hides is the condition of his ultimately reaching it. Defence and attack were, so far, sorry enough. But by the thirteenth century the ground at least was laid for a conception of poetry as sublime as these were mean, and as pregnant and fruitful as it was sublime. When Dante (*Inf.* xi, 105) said that 'Art is the grandchild of God,' he substituted for Plato's disdainful formula of the 'three removes from Reality' an idea historically derived from it. Art was still 'three removes' from the Supreme Reality. But the gulf of division was now become a bond of kinship, and the slur of spuriousness a pledge of authenticity. What other conception of Art could hold its ground in the age

* *Rep.* x, 602.

when Giotto was fashioning his fabrics of beauty? And it was the prose treatise 'De Vulgari Eloquentia' of his friend Dante that contained the first discussion of poetry adequate both to the loftier basis thus won for it by philosophic reflection and to the larger scope which in the poetic workshops it had spontaneously acquired.

This fresh departure in the discussion of poetry was also the work of one of the supreme poets of the world, one profoundly acquainted with all the poetry both of antiquity and of the Middle Ages that was accessible to him, and, in spite of the humility of his discipleship, surpassing in genius the greatest of his masters. Dante's achievement in poetry is no doubt vastly greater and more significant than his thoughts about it, for the path a poet takes under the guidance of imagination rarely coincides with that which he chooses in the light of his critical understanding. The poet's path does not indeed necessarily run counter to the critic's, as with Wordsworth it in some points did; but it takes a vastly greater compass, leading him to undiscovered regions of which the theoretic path had scarcely allowed him a glimpse; somewhat as Dante's own journey through the circles of Paradise under the conduct of Beatrice consummated, without in any sense effacing or discrediting, his earlier and more limited journey under the guidance of Virgil.

How would a young man, growing up at Florence in the third quarter of the thirteenth century, be likely to think of poetry? What circumstances in the life and civilisation of his time would help to shape his conception of its end and meaning, and his judgment of the value of its different kinds? We will approach our special enquiry by trying to answer these questions.

It is tolerably certain, to begin with, that our typical young Florentine, forming his ideas of poetry from the kinds that were alive and current in Italy, or of wide repute there, would not easily have fallen upon the view that poetry is possible without metre. Aristotle, certainly, had laid this down; and Aristotle was, not for Dante only, the master of those who know. Not a generation had passed since Thomas of Aquino (he died when Dante was a child of nine) had effected one of the most stupendous operations recorded in the architecture of thought,

by building the massive substructure of Aristotle's pagan metaphysic into the soaring edifice of Christian theology. Precisely the 'Poetics,' however, remained, for the great initiators of modern poetry, wholly unknown; Dante had been dead for more than a century and a half when Valla published his Latin version of it in 1498, and still another half a century had to elapse before its pregnant ideas began to percolate into criticism.* But it is doubtful whether Aristotle's book, had it been known, would have disturbed the radically different prepossessions of the thirteenth century about art and verse. The charm of rhythm, though he recognised it as one of the original sources of poetry, counted less, for his scientific intellect, than the reproduction, or 'imitation,' of ideal truth. The sensuous side of art falls altogether in the background with him; music he hardly touches; and the rich concrete detail of life presents itself to his eye less as valuable or beautiful in itself than as material, in great part confusing or obstructive, from which a general and somewhat abstract type is to be won. Turn from this scientific apprehension of the values of art to the intoxicating rapture of beauty which inspired the builders of Chartres, and drew from the ascetic lips of St Francis that glowing canticle in praise of 'brother Sun' and 'our sister, mother Earth.' This naïve joy in the beauty that floods the open senses, or that can be elicited from stone or glass by the cunning hand, had its counterpart in keen and exacting instinct for rhyme and rhythm. The verse-craft which pursues verbal melody through inexhaustible metrical labyrinths was never cultivated with greater virtuosity than by the troubadours of early thirteenth-century Provence. And Provence was, in poetry, the mother of Italy. Whatever else poetry could dispense with, it could not, for these metrical *virtuosi*, dispense with verse. An *obiter dictum* of Dante's about poetry reveals the gulf which lay in this matter between these professors of the gay science and the master of those who know. To him it was an imitation of ideal truth; to

* The substance of the 'Poetics' had become partially known in Europe through a translation of Averroes's Arabic abridgment; it came, curiously enough, into the hands of Roger Bacon, exciting his marked disapproval; but no trace of acquaintance with it is found in the Italy of Dante and Boccaccio. Cf. Spingarn, 'Literary Criticism in the Renaissance,' p. 16.

them, figured speech set to music.* To him it was a searching revelation; to them a beautiful disguise.

But a more far-reaching difference went along with this absorbing delight in music and figure. If Aristotle conceived poetry as 'imitation,' it was largely because he had almost exclusively in view the epic and dramatic kinds, which obviously do in some sort 'imitate' life; if Provence and Italy conceived it as figure and tune, it was because they meant by it above all the lyric kind, in which tune is vital, and which can only by a straining of terms be said to imitate anything. For him poetry meant story; for them it meant song. Aristotle evidently cared little for lyric; he passes lightly over it in his introductory chapters; and it may be surmised that, even had the 'Poetics' come down to us complete, we should not have learned from it the last word of ancient wisdom upon Sappho or Pindar, as we learn its ripest judgment upon Homer and Sophocles. And this was not altogether wonderful at Athens, in which the drama was a great national institution and Homer the most vital ingredient of a liberal education, but which was not conspicuously a haunt of song. In Provence and pre-Dantean Italy, however, all this was reversed. Drama was in its most elementary beginnings. Epic, in its antique sense, awaited the Renaissance; even in the looser sense of versified story it made, before the Renaissance, curiously little impression either south of the Cevennes or south of the Alps. The nucleus of French epic was the story of Charles the Great and his paladins; but it was Norman not Provençal pens that wove out of the tradition of a rearguard skirmish in the passes of the Pyrenees the magnificent lay of Roland's last fight at Roncesvalles. In the broad region of the *langue d'oïl* the weaving of story, whether *chanson de geste*, romance, or *fabliau*, had been, for two centuries before Dante's birth, the occupation of by far the greater part of the literary energy that was expended on verse at all; and for facile grace in narrative the school of Chrestien remains unsurpassed. When Dante began to write, the 'matter of France' and the 'matter of Britain'—refined in the courtly French alembic—were famous and familiar beyond the Rhine and the Pyrenees,

* *Fictio rethorica versificata in musicaque posita.* De Vulg. Eloq. ii, 4.

the Channel and the Alps. But, while in England and Germany and Spain the work of the French romancers set a host of singers making story in verse after their pattern, and even now and then, as in Wolfram's 'Parzifal,' inspired a poem deeper and richer than any of their own, in Provence and in Italy the seed, abundantly scattered, failed almost entirely to germinate. Provence was nearer to the centres of the epic vogue; and one noble Provençal romance at least, the story of Girart de Rossillon, challenges comparison with all but the best of the French. But the epic impulse never took root; the vitality of poetry in Provence lay wholly in song. The Provençals themselves frankly recognised and accepted this partition of the Muses' gifts, explaining it by the character of the two languages. 'The French speech,' wrote Raimon Vidal, 'is better and more gracious for making pastorals and romances, ours for making *vers*, *canzoni*, and *sirventes*.'

As for Italy, the tales told in this gracious speech of France were indeed popular among all classes. It was in the book of Lancelot that Paolo and Francesca read together in the palace of Rimini, and of which on that day they read no more. Almost at the moment of their tragic doom, the Commune of neighbouring Bologna issued an order prohibiting the reciters of French tales from singing them in the city streets. But the day when this rich story-matter should fructify in a brilliant and original Italian poetry, the day of Pulci, Boiardo, Ariosto, was still far off, and nothing prophesied of its coming. The insignificant contributions of North Italy to the cycle of Carlovingian romance were written in faulty French; the Sicilian Guido da Colonna's version of the true and authentic story of Troy, in scholastic Latin. Dante himself frankly admired the old French tongue, in which his master Brunetto Latini had written; he held that its easy and familiar charm, its '*facilior ac delectabilior vulgaritas*,' made it an unequalled medium for prose story; and the prose of the 'Vita Nuova' shows that he had studied it to some purpose. But he obviously took no account of French verse, and apparently did not reckon the poetical literature of France to have any serious claims as poetry at all.* The only great poetry

* De Vulg. Eloq. i, 10.

in the Italy of this time which French romance had any share in generating is the consummate picture of Francesca and Paolo themselves, miserable in the memory of their supreme bliss. It is not the immortal lovers only who are caught up in that vindictive fire; a literary as well as an ethical judgment is involved; and the enchanted dream-world of Gallic romance itself grows pallid and ineffectual in the flame of Dante's merciless and fearless realism.

Poetry, then, for an Italian of the later thirteenth century, meant primarily and above all lyric poetry. Other kinds were known, but it was in song, not in story, that the promise and potency of poetry unquestionably lay. Lyric, which the first builder of the House of Poetic had in a fashion rejected, was placed at the head of the corner by the craftsmen from among whom was to rise the first great poet of the modern world. The whole history of Italian verse before Dante is, in effect, a history of the development of the different forms and uses of song. Nay, the whole history of Italian verse after and including Dante is the history of the verse of a people who, naturally and insuppressibly, sing. Ariosto and Tasso wrote their 'epics' in lyric stanzas, which the gondoliers of Venice still in Byron's time chanted as they rowed.

But the kind of lyric which seemed to have the future with it in Tuscany was not such as boatmen sing. The 'knitters and the spinsters in the sun' did not use to chant it; it was neither 'old' nor 'plain.' The world-wide appeal finally achieved by Tuscan song was the consummation of a culture haughtily fastidious and exclusive. The aristocratic and courtly tradition in which the song of Provence had been shaped lost nothing among these republican citizens of Florence; on the contrary it was freed from the elements of licence and laxity which had gathered about it in that gay society, where the grossest meaning was admissible under the safe-conduct of a delicate phrase.* Around the theory of phrase, in fact, the chief literary battle of Provence had been fought; and this conflict too was revived in Tuscany,

* There are traces, no doubt, in Provence of a homelier, more popular type of song; but the lyric of the market-place succumbed to the lyric of the bower, just as the lyric at large prevailed over narrative.

but, again, with a finer and subtler appreciation of the issues involved. We have glimpses, fascinating but enigmatic, of both conflicts in the pages of the 'Comedy.' Is expression to be clear and beautiful, or subtle and abstruse? There was room for both ideals within the limits of the courtly style of Provence, where easy satisfaction and esoteric allusiveness were equally in demand. And there was room for both in Tuscany; with the difference that what here prompted the revolt from lucidity and grace was not the piquancy of conundrum or make-believe, but a genuine philosophic ardour, an absorption in certain profound and far-reaching intuitions of thought. But the Provençal difference was well known to the Tuscans, even if it did not help to generate their own; and the almost passionate emphasis with which Dante, at the height of his genius, threw himself into the debate, on the side of the abstruse and difficult style, makes the whole matter important here. No one has yet completely explained the puzzle that Dante should have singled out as the supreme poet of Provence that master of curious virtuosity in phrase and rhyme, but of little else, Arnaut Daniel; while he dismisses contemptuously, as a singer for the multitude, the brilliant and versatile Guiraut de Borneil, who, after some youthful dallying with the delights of the dark speech (*trobar clus*), became the great example of eloquent clarity.*

It is far easier to understand his equally emphatic judgment in the Tuscan quarrel. The popular favourite stood here for a distinctly inferior blend of cheap morality and pretentious yet plebeian style.† Tuscany

* Purg. xxvi. 118 f. In the De Vulg. Eloq. ii, 2, this preference of Arnaut is not yet hinted; they are quoted side by side, Guiraut as pre-eminent among the Provençals who had written on morals (*de rectitudine*), Arnaut as their poet *par excellence* of love. The problem of Dante's preference has been discussed with great penetration by Prof. Ker ('Modern Language Review,' vol. iv, p. 145), but, as he admits, without clearing away the last residue of doubt. The principal documents for the Provençal view of the relative merits of the two stylistic ideals are (1) the *tenson* between Guiraut and another poet, who bears the probably assumed name of 'Linhaure'; (2) the old biography, *s.n.* 'Arnaut.' 'Linhaure' defends his obscurity by a lofty profession of saying what he thought best, without regard to cheap applause of the vulgar. The old biographer frankly accuses Arnaut of delighting in difficult rhymes, 'so that his songs are easy neither to understand nor to remember.'

† Dante never speaks of him without disdain, on one or other of these grounds. Cf. De Vulg. Eloq. ii, 6, and Purg. xxvi, 124 f.

was the chief stronghold of Italian democracy, as it was rapidly becoming the centre of Italian culture and art; and Guittone enjoyed, during Dante's youth, a wide following in Florence itself, where he spent his last years, and whose disaster in the field of Montaperti, in 1260, he lamented in a famous *canzone*. But between 1270 and 1280 the flood of plebeian verse began to be stemmed by a new and potent influence from beyond the Apennines, which rapidly gained the enthusiastic allegiance of the *élite* of the lettered youth of Florence. Guido Guinizelli of Bologna may claim to have brought poetry into more fruitful union with speculative thought than had been witnessed since Lucretius. If Guittone was in some sense the Longfellow of his day, Guido was its Browning. He addressed himself to a little aristocracy of intellect,* and provoked from the weaker brethren, who found him obscure, attacks which he answered with spirit.† Nor was the contrast merely one between profounder and more banal thought; for thinking, in Guido as in Browning, was but, as it were, the dynamic side of a mystic ecstasy, the energising piston which signifies a furnace aglow. To our feeling, though Dante apparently judged otherwise, Guido's brief and pregnant phrase stands as far from the ingenious preciosities of Arnaut as from the commoner rhetoric of Guittone, and had a more proximate match in Guiraut than in either. If Guido was the Browning of his day and Guittone its Longfellow, Guiraut might perhaps be called the Tennyson of his time, and Arnaut its Poe.

In Guido, beyond question, we reach one of the chief determining forces of Italian literature. Without him Dante would have been other, and perhaps less, than he was. His influence was equally potent on ideas and on style; and the *dolce stil nuovo*, of which he was the first master, and which became the common possession, or at least the common ideal, of his school, was thus from the first much more than a new fashion of elegant

* This temper is well illustrated by the *canzone* (Monaci, 'Crestomathie' No. 103), where he compares the noble who boasts of his ancient lineage to mud, which, however long it has been exposed to the glory of the sun, remains base.

† Cf. the sonnet of expostulation addressed to him by Bonagiunta of Lucca, and his sonnet in reply (Monaci, 'Crest.' No. 104).

phrase; it was a doctrine as much as a style, and the 'sweetness' lay as much in the matter as in the form.

The ideas which, when we look back over the world's literature, appear to have possessed this double fecundity both for philosophy and for poetry are not numerous; but they all have the quality of at once touching the depths of our experience and eluding our final analysis. 'Nature' has, since Wordsworth, been such an idea in England. Since Plato, but never more signally than in thirteenth-century Italy, such an idea has been 'Love.' In later Romantic poetry, no doubt, the mood has been common enough in which passion appears as a kind of ecstatic philosophy, and philosophy a kind of intellectualised love; in which a woman can be felt, in Rossetti's phrase, as 'the meaning of all things that are,' and the force which moves the universe find its fittest symbol in her mysterious spell. But the philosophic ideas which inspired the school of Guido Guinizelli and their lays of love were of a more specific kind, deeply impressed with the hall-mark of the place and time.

We here approach, in fact, one of the most curious and fascinating chapters of medieval feeling and thought. Nothing in Plato was more profoundly original than his doctrine that through the rapturous apprehension of beauty lies one of the avenues to the vision of reality. The lover was borne in the chariot of his ecstasy beyond the bounds of the shadowy world of the senses into the empyrean of the things that indeed are. But the 'love' of which Plato thought was associated with what the modern world cannot but regard as a gross blot upon Greek civilisation; taken at its highest value it was emotionally poorer by far than that which since the days of chivalry has chiefly borne the name. Only a slender and dubious thread of affiliation can be detected between the thought of Plato and that of the Italian thirteenth century. Yet a precisely parallel development here took place. But it was now the cult of womanhood, elaborated in the courtly society of Provence, that took the place of the Attic *παιδεραστία*. And the transcendental sublimation of it was effected not by professed philosophers but by poets, working with a very imperfect philosophical equipment, and a psychology variously composed of

scholastic doctrine, naïve popular belief, and daring guesses of their own.

Of the metaphysics of Plato, Guido at least, the first of the line, knew little or nothing. But he fastened with tenacity and power upon the thought, kindred to Plato's, whencesoever he derived it, that love can exist only in a pure and noble spirit, and that there it cannot but exist; that love and nobility of soul are in effect inseparable, like the sun and its splendour; that love fills and possesses the noble soul as the divine power streams into the heavenly intelligences; and that whatever is base perishes or transforms itself in love's presence. The noble spirit is, in short, as he finely expresses it, the home of Love.* It is easy to see how potent such doctrine as this must be in minds captivated by the love-lays of Provence but possessed at the same time with intellectual and ethical needs scarcely known to that gay society.

The most distinguished of the Florentines who welcomed the new poetry, Guido Cavalcanti, did not unreservedly adopt its ideas. A brilliant man of the world, accomplished in warlike exercises as well as in letters,† he felt the difficulty involved in the elder Guido's magnificent equations. There was, clearly, a kind of love which, far from having its home in the noble spirit, found its way there only to destroy it. Cavalcanti tried to place the vital distinction between the purifying exaltation of love and the tumult of passion upon a securer basis, by shifting Love's seat from the heart to the imagination and reason. He did not precisely eliminate the lady, but her function was essentially that of generating an ideal image in the lover's brain, with which thenceforth he held mystic and immaculate commerce.‡ Love became thus, for Cavalcanti, if not exactly a 'liberal education,' yet a spiritual discipline, possible only to minds of a rare

* 'Al cor gientil repadria sempre amore,' etc. (Monaci, *u.s.*).

The canzone is here quoted in its original Bolognese dialect. Dante quotes it in his 'Illustre vulgare.'

† Cf. the admiring tribute of the younger poet Dino to him:

'Come assai scrittura sai a mente
Soffisimosamente,
E come corri e salti e ti travagli,'

quoted by Salvadori, 'Poesia Giovenile di Guido Cavalcanti.'

‡ Cavalcanti, 'Trattato d' Amore.' Salvadori, *u.s.*

temper, and marking its participants sharply off, not only from the community at large, but from the relatively refined practitioners of love in the courtly circles of Provence.* He conceived them, in fact, as constituting a kind of ideal society, a society without any kind of visible nexus, a society of 'solitaries,' bound together only by common allegiance to the Lord of Love.† The new school thus formed a little aristocracy of inward endowment, a *nobiltà* such as Dante in the fourth tractate of the 'Convivio' vindicates against the nobility founded upon race and wealth. In the poetry of such a society love was no chance theme, but the dominant, if not exclusive, topic, like the praise of a divinity in the ritual of his priests.

This school of love-poetry might well have gone the way of the dilettante coteries, through whom in the seventeenth century 'platonic love' became a mark for legitimate mockery. From that fate it was preserved by its profound sincerity, and by its discovery, or, at least, possession, of a style in which sincerity was united in an unsurpassed degree with imaginative charm. Modern critics have recognised at least three manners within the limits of what was generically called the 'new, sweet style;' but these rested mainly on the different cast of thought and the still more diverse genius of the three poets—Guinizelli, Cavalcanti, and Dante—whose minds it limpidly reflects. What makes these individual diversities so easily recognised is precisely the sincerity which they all had in common, and which Dante in a famous passage has singled out as the whole secret of their finer art. He encounters in Purgatory, it will be remembered, besides Guinizelli and Arnaut Daniel, his masters in poetry, Bonagiunta of Lucca, one of the older generation whom the poets of the new way had superseded; and Dante doubtless had in mind, as Prof. Ker has

* The extent of this latter divergence is indicated with much precision by a comparison of Cavalcanti's precepts for lovers with Andrea Capellano's version of the code of courtly love as practised in the Arthurian romances. Of the thirteen articles of the latter, Cavalcanti takes over five; five, involving illegitimate or sensual love, he omits; and he adds two new ones of quite other tenor: 'non amar donna altrui,' and 'osserva religione.' Salvadori, *u.s.*

† Salvadori, *u.s.*, has traced in a very interesting way the apparent source of Cavalcanti's conception in the ideal republic of the Arabic philosopher Avempace.

suggested, Bonagiunta's attack upon Guinizelli's 'hard' style, already referred to, when he put the case for Guinizelli's poetry, as for his own, in this one beautiful and unanswerable sentence. 'Do I behold,' asks Bonagiunta, 'him who put forth the *new rhymes* beginning "Donna, che avete intelletto d'amore?"' (i.e. the *canzone* of 'Vita Nuova,' xix). 'I am one,' replies Dante, 'who when love breathes in me take note, and utter it in the same fashion as he dictates within.' Bonagiunta instantly recognises where he himself and the other early Tuscans and Sicilians had failed. 'Brother, I perceive the obstacle which kept the Notary and Guittone and me on the hither side of that *dolce stil nuovo* that I hear. I see that your pens follow in strict accord what Love dictates, which assuredly ours did not, and whoever looks further will find no other difference than this.' And, satisfied of the matter, he held his peace. In other words, these earlier poets erred by using language loosely, rhetorically, with an eye set not upon 'the object,' the passion within, but upon the openings it offered for ingenious developments of phrase. They did not write from the heart.*

Only we must beware of supposing that the writing of their successors, of Guido and Dante, was simple because it was sincere and deeply felt. They followed faithfully the dictation of Love; but Love did not speak to them with the fiery directness of Burns or Catullus. The subtle blend of ideal and personal passion was not easily rendered in speech; and, so far as it could be conveyed at all, it was rather through figure and suggestion than by direct or logical phrase. Hence the apparent paradox that symbol is nowhere more at home than in this poetry which, as it were, canonised sincerity of style. For their apprehension of reality was as subtle and complex as their feeling for truth in style was keen; and they perfectly understood the power of figure to convey through fiction what evades the frontal attack of logic. They stood for definite meaning in poetry no less than for noble style, and dismissed with the same severe disdain the Bonagiuntas who meant not, but toyed and

* That '*pauc val chans que del cor non ve*' was already a maxim with the Provençal poets, despite the apparent artifice of their methods (Peirols in *tenson* with Bernartz de Ventadorn, Bartsch, '*Crestomathie*,' p. 139).

gambolled round about a meaning,* and the Guittones who delivered their meaning, whatever it was, in undistinguished and commonplace phrase.† And how strong the attraction of phrase and figure, as such, was for these poets of impassioned sincerity, nothing shows more strikingly than the admiration, already referred to, of the greatest among them for the Provençal virtuoso who to our feeling was distinguished in little else.

Such were the common prepossessions about poetry prevalent in the group of young Florentines who, in the eighties of the 13th century, wrote of love under the inspiration of Guido Guinizelli, and won fame as masters of the *dolce stil nuovo*. It is not possible to leave unnoticed the supreme poet who made this dim by-way of medieval poetry one of the most radiant paths in the whole history of letters. Dante, younger by some eight years than the younger Guido, could still, when he had long outsoared and overshadowed both, write of them as his 'betters.'‡ To Cavalcanti he looked up as his 'first friend.'§ Even to Cino da Pistoja he subordinates himself, some years later, as a kind of attendant nameless shade—*amicus eius*.|| But even in the days of the 'Vita Nuova' he was hardly without the surmise, uttered in the 'Purgatory' when it had been long fulfilled, that 'one was haply born who would drive both Guidos from the nest.'¶ The 'Vita Nuova' is, in any case, incomparably the noblest product of the *dolce stil nuovo*.

Considered, however, as a reflection of the mind and temper of Dante, it is not perfectly coherent or uniform. It reflects a mind growing in complexity and in speculative keenness, but losing in the process something of its exquisite *naïveté* and limpid simplicity. At the beginning we are still within hearing of Provence; at the close we already anticipate the years of strenuous philosophic study—study by which he will qualify himself to sing of

* 'Vita Nuova,' 25. † De Vulg. Eloq. ii, 6. ‡ Purg. xxvi. 97 f.

§ 'Vita Nuova,' 25 *et alibi*. || De Vulg. Eloq. *passim*.

¶ Purg. xi. 98. It is hard to believe that Dante does not here intend himself. Scartazzini's reason for rejecting this view scarcely needs discussion. How could Dante write 'haply' (*forse*), he says in effect, 'if he meant himself? Did not he know of his own birth?' But there is such a thing as a tentative statement of something perfectly well known; and it is nowhere more in place than in putting forward a bold personal claim.

his dead Beatrice what was never yet sung of mortal woman, but which none the less detached him in some degree from the temper of poetry, and bore fruit, immediately, only in the prose treatises which, noble as they are, are yet of an age and not for all time—the 'Convivio,' the 'De Monarchia,' and the 'De Vulgari Eloquentia.' The prose narrative is some years later than the sonnets and *canzoni* inlaid in it. But the beauty and dramatic veracity of the story are unimpaired. Even if the story of the 'Vita Nuova' were shown to be a pure piece of symbolism designed to illustrate the new poetic gospel of ideal love, we should have to admit that its author had portrayed such love with an imaginative insight into its shy adorations, its ecstatic self-abasements, its impassioned reserve, which once for all took Guido's conception out of the category of beautiful abstractions and made it, like the friendship enshrined in the Phaedrus and in Shakespeare's sonnets, a permanent possession.

Hardly any one now believes that the story of Beatrice rests upon no actual experience whatever. But no one believes, either, that the passion rendered in this rare and intellectualised speech was simple and overpowering emotion like that which surges into verse in 'my lov's like a red, red rose.' In the nature of Dante, as exquisitely poised as it was marvellously rich, the union of spiritual and personal passion, which everywhere breathes through the 'Vita Nuova,' was peculiarly intense. The ingrained instinct of the medieval mind to weave a symbolic nexus between earth and heaven was heightened in him by the imagination of a great poet; and it was vision, not abstract theory, which made the love that draws men and women together one, for him, with 'that which moves in their spheres the sun and the other stars.' It is the sting of his lady's girlish mockery which opens to him the secret of the self-oblivion of true love, the 'new matter nobler than the former,' and inspires the great song, 'Donne, che avete intelletto d'amore,' which his tongue spoke 'as if by its own motion.'* We must not think that either Dante's philosophy is an abstruse language for his love, or his love a fictitious garb for

* 'Vita Nuova,' 17-19. An excellent letter in the New York 'Nation' for December 16, 1909, by Prof. Fletcher, of Columbia, deals in an illuminating way with this central crisis of the book.

his philosophy; both are real, and equally real, for him; each is a symbol of the other, if we will; but a symbol which itself is true.

The 'Vita Nuova' reflects Dante's advance within the lines of the school of Cavalcanti. But those cloistral precincts were not to mark the final compass of his genius, any more than the 'Doric delicacy' of Horton gives a complete measure of the poet of 'Paradise Lost.' We approach the most intricate, yet at the same time the most fascinating, chapter of Dante's intellectual history; that in which he ceases to be the most gifted member of a school, and forges his own way in poetry as in life—the loneliest of the supreme masters of literature. The old bonds were not abruptly severed, like the ties of his citizenship; he was neither flung forth from the school, nor did he ever shake its dust indignantly from his feet. If his ultimate stature and scope became immeasurably greater than theirs, it was somewhat as a great tree expands, absorbing and assimilating a host of new elements without leaving its base. The fundamental germ, the vital core, of his poetry remains and persists. Love, which moved the universe, lay at the centre of his thought; but it found expression through ideas and in literary forms of enormously enlarged range and scope.

The instruments of this gradual enlargement were three decisive moments in his life, in which the material ground of his ideal aspirations was abruptly and finally destroyed—catastrophes such as, even in strong men, may produce moral shipwreck, but on which Dante rose as by stepping-stones to the full measure of his spiritual height. The death of Beatrice, in 1290, which withdrew her visible presence, drove him for refuge to the 'other lady,' Philosophy, whose guidance was destined to open to him the spiritual way of deliverance symbolically trodden in the 'Comedy.' His banishment, in 1302, turned the statesman of Florence into a citizen of the ideal Italy and the first and mightiest of her intellectual builders. Finally, the death of the Emperor, in 1313, which shattered his hope of imperial rule as the solution of her political anarchy, made more than ever supremely needful that spiritual way of deliverance which the poet of the 'Comedy' thenceforth to the end pursued.

The progress of Dante's poetic art was thus from a poetry personal in its scope, choice and exclusive in its methods, to one that embraced the whole fate and history of humanity, and drew into its compass the entire gamut of literary resources then extant. But the advance along the two lines of scope and of method did not proceed at the same pace; and the stamp of the middle period, and especially of the early years of his exile, is a union of vast national aims with an art more than ever fastidious and exclusive in its choice of means. Outside the cloistral precincts of the 'new sweet style' there lay haunts of a commoner poetry, which Dante himself had not always disdained. The satiric ferocity of the streets of Florence lived in the flagellant sonnets of a Cene and a Cecco Angolieri; and Dante himself had condescended, in the sonnet on poor Nella Donati, to wield a lash as cruel and as wanton as theirs.* And the Tuscan and Umbrian waysides flowered with popular song and tale. Both the anger and the simplicity of these were finally to pass, ennobled and transformed, into the poetic universe of the 'Comedy.' But his immediate path from those cloistral precincts lay towards the severer seclusion of the school—the 'scuole de' religiosi' and 'disputazioni de' filosofanti,' where the lady Philosophy had her seat.† Aristotle, the 'master and leader of the human reason,'‡ was here supreme; and, for Dante at least, the Emperor had a no less rightful authority over human actions. The prose treatises of the exile are all applications of the principle that civil society can only be maintained by authoritative intervention from above, 'for men avail not to save themselves.' And it is not wonderful that, in this atmosphere of philosophic and imperial authority and of large political aspiration, the influence of the great Augustan poet, to whom Dante had probably never been

* The sonnet on Nella Donati and her cough is an even more grievous lapse than Milton's divorce sonnets. But he made a noble reparation to the faithful wife in *Purg.* xxiii, 76-93. He was himself the victim of some savage specimens of the talent, in this kind, of Cecco, whom Rossetti dubs 'the scamp of Dante's circle.' The pleasant familiarity of the sonnet to Guido ('Guido, vorrei che tu e Lapo ed io'), where the mystic Beatrice appears as the Florentine girl with whom he went out rowing, lies intermediate between this drastic realism and the 'Vita Nuova'; but Dante did not include it there.

† 'Convivio,' ii, 13.

‡ *Ib.* iv, 6.

indifferent, should become dominant with him. There he found a philosophy neither of the cloister nor of the school, but ranging over all the needs of public and of private life. There, too, he found the secret of a more various, supple, and plastic speech, and of an ampler mould of verse. The disciple of Guinizelli and Cavalcanti became, in short, the disciple of Virgil; the 'new sweet style' expanded into the *bello stilo* which he so emphatically declares that Virgil alone has taught him;* and the 'Vita Nuova' is succeeded by those *canzoni* of the exile whose fame Villani attests,† and one of which he chose as an example of what he meant by the noble style.‡

Moreover, the stylistic influence of Virgil on Dante was not exerted only through his style. A poetry like his, penetrated with the sense of imperial destiny and touched only in one great episode with the passion of love, inevitably tended to relax the hold of the poetry of love upon his sensitive disciple; and this meant *ipso facto* to withdraw him from the sway of the 'sweet new style'—so intimately bound up with one another were the special matter and the special form. 'I will lay down that pleasant style of mine which I have used in handling love,' he declared at the opening of the third *canzone* of the 'Convivio,' 'and will sing of the worth by which man is indeed ennobled';§ and the words, though meant to describe a temporary deviation from a custom, really mark the direction of a continuous growth. The position accorded to Virgil in the 'Comedy' signifies, among other things, the triumph of the poetry of the 'Aeneid' in Dante's mind over that of Guinizelli and Cavalcanti and of his own 'Vita Nuova.' When he meets Guinizelli in Purgatory, he can hail him, in Virgil's presence, as his 'father' in the making of sweet lays of love, for that phase

* Inf. i, 87.

† 'Quando fu in esilio fece da venti canzoni morali e d' amore molto eccellenti.' Vill. ix, 136, quoted by Toynbee, Dict, s.v. 'Canzoniere.'

‡ De Vulg. Eloq. ii, 6.

§
 'Le dolci rime d' amor, ch' io solia
 Cercar ne' miei pensieri,
 Convien ch' io lasci. . . .
 Diporrò qui lo mio soave stilo,
 Ch' i' ho tenuto nel trattar d' amore,
 E dirò del valore,' etc.

of his poetry was long gone by.* And Cavalcanti, his 'first friend' and comrade in the 'Vita Nuova,' is now very pointedly described as a 'scorner' of Dante's master and guide.†

But we are happily able to supplement these sometimes ambiguous indications of Dante's literary conceptions during the earlier years of his exile by one luminous and detailed document, the treatise on Vernacular Speech referred to at the outset. To this pregnant piece of writing, incomparably the most remarkable utterance in literary theory produced in the whole Middle Age, it is now necessary to turn.

It is no accident but, precisely, the clue to the purport of Dante's book, that the discussion of poetry is prepared for by an elaborate essay on language. Philology was in its infancy; and there are passages which make us smile, such as the chapter in which, after laying down that man alone has speech, he gravely replies to objections founded upon reports to the contrary about angels, serpents, asses, and magpies.‡ But on the whole this little treatise is a wonderful example of a powerful intellect compelling an obscure and difficult matter to assume a crystalline clearness and symmetry. It is no academic and no merely literary interest which impels him. He is hunting a noble quarry, and though the course is devious the chase is never relaxed; it is for nothing less than the discovery of a common national speech adequate to the purposes of a national literature.

Nothing, in fact, could be more humiliating to an Italian poet of Dante's time who cared for his people and their tongue than the condition of the *lingua de sì*, compared with other tongues already famous in letters. Virgil had had at his disposal a language already supreme in Italy and familiar all over the civilised world. But the country of Virgil was now occupied by a crowd of semi-independent territories, each using its local *patois* for its songs as for its business and its talk. The political disintegration of the land was reflected in its speech. No court provided an authoritative standard of language,

* Purg. xxvi, 97, 112. This is true even if the words be held to apply to 1300, the imaginary date of Dante's Vision.

† Inf. x, 63.

‡ De Vulg. Eloq. i, 2.

any more than of manners or of law. French and Provençal were far nearer to linguistic, as those who spoke them were to political, unity, than Italian with its fourteen dialects could pretend to be. It was naturally no mere question of providing a convenient medium between speakers of different dialects, an Italian *lingua franca* or 'Esperanto.' Dante had a loftier conception of the function of language in civilisation. He saw in his common vernacular a step towards the spiritual unity of Italy, as he saw in the imperial rule the only means to her temporal unity. The one was to be a medium of the nascent soul, as the other was to organise the shattered body. And Dante's notions of his common language are as definitely aristocratic as his methods in politics. He is a Ghibelline idealist. But he is also the profound student of Aristotle and Aquinas; and Aristotelian conceptions gave him both guidance and support in the seemingly desperate quest for the visionary polity and the visionary speech. For Aristotle affirmed that the unity of the whole existed in and through the crowd of concrete particular parts; that it could be deciphered from them, and that it was more perfect than they, as reflecting the divine reason more clearly. The common Italian speech, therefore, like the common Italian polity, had a real existence; the reformer had but to disengage its nobler features from the confused and distorted figures by which it was overlaid. But for the same reason it was superior to any of the existing dialects; whereas the mere *lingua franca*, or 'lingo,' arrived at by rough and ready makeshifts for practical convenience, is always poorer than the languages it mediates between. It was thus qualified not merely to unite the speakers of different dialects, but to unite them on a higher plane by making them common possessors of a higher culture. It had to illuminate those who spoke it, as the ruler, in Dante's aristocratic politics, 'illuminates his people with justice and goodwill.' And it illuminated them by being itself luminous, that is, free from harsh constructions and obscure or equivocal phrase.

It is interesting to compare this conception of an ideal language with modern essays in the same kind. Wordsworth, of all English poets, most clearly resembles Dante in his sense of the bearing of poetical language

not merely upon poetry itself, but through it upon national life. Literary innovations in language have mostly been undertaken for purely literary ends; as Gautier and Hugo drew from the picturesque speech of the sixteenth century new resources of expression, or as Spenser borrowed scraps from Lydgate and Gower to sustain the illusion of his romance. Dante and Wordsworth had much more than this in view. Each sought in his ideal language a means of liberating men from narrow interests, and bringing them under the sway of a larger and more beneficent law. But, while Wordsworth laid the emphasis on the liberation from the old bonds, Dante laid it on the achievement of unity under the new sway. For Wordsworth the speech of English poetry in its noblest reaches was one of the guarantees of English freedom. 'We must be free or die, Who speak the tongue that Shakspeare spake.' And it was towards the spiritual freedom of a life at one with Nature that he looked when he prescribed for poetry a language purified to the utmost from the artifices introduced by man's meddling intellect and the glossy insincerities of urbane discourse, indued with the bare, sheer, penetrating power of Nature herself. And he thought he found his ideal most clearly realised in the plain speech of the peasant, insensibly moulded, as he believed this to be, by the scenery amid which their daily life was passed. Wordsworth lived in an age in which the distrust of human interference with the spontaneous course of things, distrust of government, of art, of social institutions, of civilisation itself, had struck very deep, and left few noble and aspiring minds untouched. Beauty might wait upon his steps, and pitch her tent before him as he moved, an hourly neighbour, but she was, for him, no creature of the artist's fancy, but a living presence of the earth,

'Surpassing the most fair ideal forms
Which craft of delicate spirits hath composed
From earth's materials.'

To Dante the trouble and the solution lay alike in a very different quarter. The cleavage between the saving and the corrupting elements in life, between the promise and the menace of the universe, did not in the least correspond with the cleavage between naïve simplicity

and contriving will. Nature, a term of many vague associations, meant strictly (as in *Parad.* x. 28) the whole created universe, penetrated, in one part more and in another less, by the divine spirit; and where that penetrated most, in the human reason completely irradiated by God's, there the 'Law of Nature' was most perfectly fulfilled. Intelligence, conscious and contriving, under the inspiration of Love, was the ideal element in the universe; government, law, and society, in so far as they embodied it, became reflections of the divine; and Art, the 'grandchild of God,' *nepote di Dio* (*Inf.* xi, 105), was greater than her mother, Nature, precisely because she is more conscious and more intelligent.

Dante thus inevitably sought ideal language in the speech, not of the untutored peasant but of the cultured and intellectual elements of society—an authoritative, authorised, authentic speech. The dialect of the peasant is precisely what he seeks to eliminate; and here his passion for political cohesion adds its force to his passion for spiritual culture; for the dialect, at once local and rustic, is the sign of political disruption as well as of spiritual rudeness. And the modern, inured by Burns or Barnes, by Reuter or Hebel,* to feel kindly towards peasant speech, is tempted to smile at the eager eloquence with which Dante glories in his 'illustrious' vernacular, the speech of the Court and government, 'enthroned (like it) in dominion and power, seeing that it has been extricated from so many common words, so many confused idioms, so many faulty terminations, so many rustic accents, in a form so distinguished, so pure, so perfect, so urbane, as Cino da Pistoja and his friend (Dante himself) present it in their *canzoni*.'† But, if we smile, we cannot but recognise too that this impassioned idealist, this dreamer of magnificent dreams, was the last man in the world to be satisfied with dreaming. The political unity of Italy was still a baffled hope, the *Veltrò* was looked and longed for in vain; but the illustrious vernacular was already there and already in use, 'courtly' though

* The authors of the 'Stromtid' and the 'Alemannische Gedichte' hold an analogous place in Germany, as masters of poetry and humour in the dialects respectively of the North and the South, to that of Burns and Barnes in our own country.

† De Vulg. Eloq. i, 17.

there was yet no imperial court, authoritative though there was yet no supreme tribunal; for though, as Dante finely says, the limbs of Italy be united by no single rule, as are those of Germany, yet they are united by the gracious light of reason, and therefore it is false to say we have no government, because we have no prince; 'we have a government, though its seat be scattered.'*

It remained to prescribe the literature. And, here as there, Dante appears as the aristocratic idealist, eager to uplift his countrymen, but haughtily fastidious and exacting in his choice of means. Their virtue may be feeble, but he will not stoop to it. The noble language is to convey only noble matter in noble form. Its end is not to further business or social intercourse, but to be the privileged dialect of genius and learning. The kind of writing which alone he thinks worthy to be the wine poured into this precious vessel of speech he distinguishes as 'tragic.' The phrase has nothing to do with drama, which Dante, as we saw, ignores, but denotes that which results when, in his own words, 'weight of meaning' is matched with 'lofty rhythm, choice construction, and excellent vocabulary.'† He does not exclude the rhythm of prose, but virtually his 'tragic' writing is equivalent to the more serious kind of poetry. His classification of the proper subject-matter of such poetry is still interesting and valuable. The modern gospel of art for art's sake, which cares nothing for substance provided there be tune, would have been even less to his mind than the opposite heresy, which cares nothing for tune provided there be substance. He lays his foundations deep in human nature. Poetry is concerned with one or other of certain original interests and elementary desires.

In common with all living things we desire what is useful. In common with all animals we desire pleasure. In common with all rational beings we desire what is good. The supreme degree of the useful is self-preservation; the supreme degree of pleasure is love; the supreme degree of the good is righteousness. Hence the three great interests or topics of poetry: valour in arms, the kindling of love, and the guidance of will. The analysis by which Dante reaches this result is sufficiently daring, but it

* De Vulg. Eloq. i, 18.

† Ib. ii, 4.

seems to have landed him finally upon pretty firm ground. Valour, love, righteousness—these were the central enthusiasms which called forth the serious poetry of the Middle Ages; and they expressed, at least plausibly, the inspirations of the serious poetry of antiquity as known to Dante. 'Arms' was the theme of Virgil's great epic; arms and 'the man' who, on his way to fulfil the righteous will of the gods, had turned aside to become the hero, for the whole Middle Ages, of the greatest love-story in the world. But what more specially concerns us is that Dante's formula for the matter of great poetry has, since the 'Vita Nuova' days, immensely expanded; while his psychology, disengaged from the exalted dreams of Guinizelli, has become almost aggressively scientific. Love is no longer the sole worthy subject of poetry; arms, which that intellectual dreamer had ignored, and which no Italian poet whatever, known to Dante, had yet sung, are asserted as an independent and equal theme; while righteousness, which Guido's sublime but insecure affirmation had declared to be inseparable from love, is sternly detached from it, and made a third in the trio. The earlier theory is that of the ardent love-poet; the later is that of the man who had found consolation in the lady Philosophy for the loss of the lady Beatrice. And if the poetry of Virgil, later Dante's symbol for philosophy, did not contribute, as it surely did, to detach him from his earlier theory, it must have seemed a magnificent illustration and confirmation of the new.

In the same way Dante's ideals of style, and even of vocabulary, as now set forth in the 'De Vulgari Eloquentia,' bear the stamp of the more masculine school into which the quondam disciple and friend of the Guidos had now passed. The style that he desires for tragic poetry is not either sweet or new, but succulent, beautiful, and majestic (*sapidus, venustus, excelsus*). It is true that among the Italian examples that he chooses to illustrate it are two from the Guidos; but these, like the other samples from the Provençal, only show that among the older poets and poetic schools he still recognised occasional achievements which he could approve. Of his own work he instances only one of the later *canzoni*: 'Amor, che nella mente mi ragiona,' chosen for detailed commentary in the 'Convivio.' And he goes on to make

quite clear that the standard by which he measures them all is derived from Latin style, from the Latin poets, Virgil above all, of Ovid, Statius and Lucan, and a few great writers in prose.* The very curious and in parts puzzling discussion of *diction*, finally, is hardly inspired by the temper of the *dolce stil*. The diction is to be masculine and urbane; the soft effeminate words and the harsh rustic ones are alike to be expelled; and among those that are urbane, the 'sleek' and the 'tousled' are to be avoided, in favour of those that are merely 'well-combed' or 'shaggy.' This is the ideal of one who has definitely renounced the elementary beauty which merely soothes and cajoles the sense, for the deeper beauty which wins us the more because some sternness is mingled with its charm. He will presently go further to that consummate and sublimer beauty which even the abysmal horror and gloom of the 'Inferno' does not rend and shatter, but enforces and completes—a crashing discord which the harmony cannot do without. But with all these marks of a riper and more masculine literary ideal, Dante still holds fast to some cherished preconceptions of the earlier school. In spite of Virgil, lyric is still the supreme mode of poetry, alone worthy of the illustrious vernacular, and of all the aristocratic graces of chosen rhythm and phrase. Within the lyric sphere, however, the Virgilian taste asserts itself. Sonnets had comprised almost the whole of the poetry of the 'Vita Nuova.' But the sonnet and the ballad are now slighted as inferior kinds, while the prize of surpassing excellence is given to the majestic *canzone* alone.†

Dante's position as a thinker about poetry, in this middle section of his life, thus closely resembles his position, during this period, as a thinker at large. It is a period, with him, in the strictest sense, of transition; the dark wood, and the rampant bear and lion; but the young dawn of Beatrice now grown dim, and the way to the earthly Paradise still unknown. The little treatise, left fragmentary like the 'Convivio,' touches both the past and the future of his art; it rests upon the prepossessions of his early prime, coloured by the national ideal which first found complete utterance in the 'Comedy.' His temper

* De Vulg. Eloq. ii, 6.

† Ib. ii, 8.

is profoundly patriotic; he seeks the spiritual uplifting of the Italian people. But the tools he works with are still not adequate to the vastness of his task; they are the tools of an aristocrat, a Ghibelline, superbly fastidious and exclusive, refusing concession, disdaining compromise. As a reformer he embraces the desperate policy of calling in an alien emperor to impose peace; as a poet he offers for a common speech an 'illustrious vernacular,' jealously confined to the utterance of the most flawlessly beautiful and majestic modes of art; a choice music to be won only by elaborate and strenuous discipline, and demanding ears as choice for its apprehension. With scorn like that of Apollo for the rustic music of Marsyas, he warns off the untaught singer who relies on a native gift of song.

'Let him take warning, and mark these words of ours, and when he proposes to himself to sing flawlessly of these three topics, . . . having first drunk of Helicon and strung his lyre, let him fearlessly take up the plectron and duly begin. But to make the song . . . as beseems, this is a matter of labour and toil; for it can never be accomplished without strenuousness of intellect and assiduous art and acquired knowledge. And these are they whom the poet in the sixth Aeneid calls the beloved of God, lifted up to the aether. And therefore let their folly be confessed who, wanting art and science, and trusting in their wits alone, rush in to sing of the supreme matters in the supreme style; let them leave this presumption, and refrain from emulating the star-aspiring eagle if by reason of native sloth they are geese.'

But this Apolline scorn for the untaught was not the final temper of Dante's poetry. There came a time when Apollo borrowed Marsyas's pipe and played to his audience; when the haughty and fastidious singer subdued his tongue to speak in the language of 'simple women-folk' and through images which went home to their hearts. The 'Comedy,' consummate flower and fruit of Dante's poetry, involved, in his theory of poetry, a certain shifting of his ground, a certain withdrawal from impracticable or insufficient positions. But the result, for the after-world, if not for Dante himself, was an enormous advance in theory also; a vast expansion of the recognised scope and possibilities of song. It must suffice here to summarise in the briefest way the conditions and nature of this last and supreme phase of Dante's art.

The death of the Emperor Henry VII in 1313, which finally frustrated the Ghibelline solution of the political problem, also sapped the basis, for an ardent patriot like Dante, of an aristocratic poetry. From authority, in the State as in the Church, nothing was visibly to be hoped; and Dante, abandoning the direct path towards national salvation which rapine and lust had barred, chose under the guidance of Virgil the 'other way,' and set his hand to the great work of which the aim, in his own words, was 'to win all men in this life from the state of misery and to lead them to the state of felicity,' by setting before them the vision of humanity in its choice of good and evil. In other words, he addresses himself no longer primarily to a circle of select hearers, but to the whole body of his countrymen. He goes out from the sanctuary to the public ways. He takes up the common tunes into his symphony, touching them to finer issues. The didactic allegory of his old master Brunetto is resumed in a compendium of universal knowledge. The savage realism of the Ceccos reappears transmuted into the words of flame and steel that burn and rend the shades of Boniface and Brutus.

The inner core of his poetry—its fundamental passion and thought—remained; righteousness and love were the final theme of the 'Comedy' as, in more naïve and personal form, they had been of the 'Vita Nuova.' But the whole fabric of the imaginative presentment, the whole vesture of speech and figure, are new. For the author of the 'De Vulgari Eloquentia,' love and righteousness could only be worthily sung in majestic lyric *canzoni*; now song gives way to story, the *canzone* to the verse in which tales were recited in the public piazzas, the fine woof of philosophic symbolism to the immemorial marvels of the popular creed. They could only be worthily sung in the choice, high-wrought *tragic style*; now he utters them, if we may accept his express assurance, in the lowly and careless manner of comedy, and in the language in which simple women-folk converse, 'in qua et mulierculae communicant.' We smile at this description of the language of the 'Inferno'; but the simple women-folk themselves went far to justify him when they pointed, in the streets of Verona, to the man 'who had seen hell.' He had told them of hell in language which spoke home,

Thus did Dante, in merely seeking to temper his art to simple minds, fall upon new and wonderful developments of it. In giving up song to tell a story, he was in effect emancipating himself from the lyric prepossessions in which he had grown up, and creating an epic poem for Italy. An epic, indeed, still vibrating with the lyrical prepossessions out of which it had grown; story as told by a born singer who of choice refrains from song; passionate, personal, individual, wholly unlike the sculpturesque objectivity of the 'Iliad.' Homer never emerges; Dante stands always in the focus and centre of the tale he tells. Yet, on the other hand, it is true epic and of the grandest kind. The circle which thus thrills and throbs with personality and passion at the centre, holds the universe in its circumference; and, if the soul of Dante attends us everywhere and will not let us go, it is a soul which has become a mirror for all things in heaven and earth, which has possessed the sun and the stars.

It is perhaps not hypercritical to notice that the structural divisions of the poem, the three *cantiche* and the hundred *cantos*, appear to simulate a collection of songs, such as the Wolfian school were later to discover in the 'Iliad' and the 'Nibelungenlied,' rather than a continuous narrative; and the single canto resembles a *canzone* in length rather than a Homeric or Virgilian 'book.' And the seamless vesture of interwoven rhymes which enfolds each canto seems designed to secure, together with the continuity of narrative, the inter-relatedness of the parts which he admired in the sestinas of Arnaut Daniel. The sequence of *terzine* is not so close-knit as that of the stanzas in the *sestina*, but they have the same character of advancing by definite and symmetrical steps. And just as the old lyric temper still works in Dantesque epic, so the old subtle symbolism has not really been expelled by the new plain and homely speech, but persists along with it, a more profound and pervading form than ever—a Proteus saved by transforming itself. The story, however simple, direct, and lifelike the telling, is not really simple; it means more than is told; behind the human drama we witness and listen to, there is a larger sense that we gather and infer. The modern student reads with some alarm, perhaps, Dante's exposition to Can Grande of the four meanings

running through his poem. But though it be allegory, and allegory fourfold, it is wholly exempt from the besetting frigidity and unreality of allegory. He hardly ever deals in dreamy personifications like Spenser.* The modern allegorist has to establish or invent a correspondence between the order of real life and the order of ideas, and he rarely does it without violence to the one or the other. But for the medieval poet a correspondence was already there. To signify something in the higher order was of the essence of whatever really existed in the lower. The universe, God's act, was at the same time His speech; everything that happened, every life that rose and strove and passed away, was a word of the divine mind, pregnant with a significance more than it knew. The human world which gives the literal sense of this allegory, and the spiritual interpretation, are for Dante equally real; and the old poetic ideal of the 'Vita Nuova' days, fidelity through figure, found a deeper solution in this union of realism and suggestion in the great poem of his maturity.

The conception of the universe as the visible language of God, moreover, while liable to abuse by superstitious fancy, opened the way to the subtle imaginative apprehension of life and of nature which is one of the notes of the greatest modern poetry. Dante stands, a great mediator, between the allegorists who shadowed forth their meaning in purely symbolic shapes, and the naturalists, who painted what they saw, but saw nothing more than they painted. The imaginative and pregnant realism of Dante, uniting the larger significance of the one with the lifelike veracity of the other, foreshadowed, despite the vast changes wrought by Protestantism, and the scientific discovery of the world by Humanism, whatever is, in the profounder sense of the term, Romantic in modern poetry; whether it be Wordsworth's wondrous earth, 'this mighty sum of things for ever speaking,' or Goethe's living and moving humanity, the living robe of the Godhead woven by the Earth-spirit at the roaring loom of Time.

C. H. HERFORD.

Art. 6.—THE PROBLEM OF PASCAL.

1. *Pascal*. By Viscount St Cyres. London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1909.
2. *Œuvres de Blaise Pascal*. Edited by L. Brunshvicq and Pierre Boutroux (in course of publication). Paris: Hachette, 1904-8.
3. *Pascal*. By Emile Boutroux. Paris: Hachette, 1900.
4. *Blaise Pascal*. A Study in Religious Psychology. By Humphrey R. Jordan, B.A. London: Williams and Norgate, 1909.

And other works.

OF certain well-known figures in history, as on the stage, we may say that they exert the fascination of a problem never quite resolved and therefore continually new. In literature the striking example is Hamlet; in history, among the Romans, Tiberius, among Italians, Machiavelli; but the French, from whom we should scarcely look for it, have given us in Pascal the most enigmatic of religious teachers and the most questionable of orthodox champions. Pascal stands by himself, claiming no ancestors, leaving no successors. Although the spokesman of a 'refined and special sect of Christian believers,' he derived from Port Royal neither his eloquence nor his method of reasoning. By conviction a fierce dogmatist, he has been reckoned a sceptic. Sensitive to all the springs of emotion, he was yet hard upon others and harder to himself. A pioneer of physical science, he renounced and despised it in the name of religion; yet he it was who most sharply defended Galileo in a famous sarcasm about the earth's moving on despite ecclesiastical censure. Violently opposed to the Reformers, he is equally hostile to the Jesuits. A devout Roman Catholic, he appeals from the judgment of the Papal See to the tribunal of Christ. He is a fanatic, but he questions all first principles; a keen logician who scorns the syllogism; a master of irony and satire who resolves the Gospel into a commandment of love; a humorist who provokes inextinguishable laughter yet who is more melancholy than tears, more saddening in his effect on such as turn to him for comfort than any modern except Swift. That some formidable note of interrogation was embodied in Pascal we cannot deny.

He attracts and he repels; he is no less persuasive in detail than unsatisfactory on the whole. He abounds in contradictions, yet he remains a living spirit, unlike any other, passionate, profound, individual, immortal.

Among the signs of a return on the part of literary leaders in France towards their classic age, few are more significant than the interest which every detail connected with Pascal awakens. A beautiful new edition of his works has been in progress, under the care of MM. Brunschvicq and Pierre Boutroux, since 1904, in the series termed 'Grands Ecrivains de la France.' M. Brunschvicq has given us two editions of the 'Pensées,' in 1900 and 1904, of which the larger, in three volumes, contains all that can possibly be said touching the origin, condition, and general plan of that most tantalising *cas de conscience*, wherein the Port Royal issue of 1670 displayed a finesse or a strategy not altogether contemplated by the 'Provincial Letters' as lawful to Jansenists. The concordance of manuscript and editions, founded on Michaut, would put to shame German industry; none but experts will study it, and what expert is there who will not cleave to his own private judgment after all? M. Emile Boutroux, in a dainty sketch marked by serious and refined method, surrenders himself to Pascal's guidance as though it were efficacious grace; it would be fair to consult, on the other side, Father W. Kreiten, S.J., in his valuable German studies. But, on this matter of bibliography, enough.

It is now some years since Viscount St Cyres put forth a volume on Fénelon which deservedly won recognition at the time, and which remains the standard English treatment of that many-sided author and statesman. By mere force of contrast one who had spent days and nights in studying the martyr of Quietism, the fore-runner of Romanticism, the reconciler of human with divine learning, would be led back to consider the severe solitary, now falling below the horizon as Port Royal underwent its last defeat. Pascal antedated Fénelon by twenty-eight years in point of birth (1623 and 1651), while his literary efforts had come to an end about thirty years before the Archbishop of Cambray made his mark. The Jansenism of Pascal was intensely repugnant to the human tenderness of which Fénelon has left so

many proofs in his correspondence ; and that proud isolation, which St-Cyran practised and encouraged in his disciples, could have little charm for a director who was before all things a friend. Fénelon professed a reverence without bounds for the Holy See ; the Jesuits (though intolerant of Mme Guyon's raptures) made common cause with a prelate who detested their theological enemies ; and in the later quarrels on the subject of Jansenism they fought shoulder to shoulder with him. Again, Pascal is the perfection of a French classic style in prose, even as Racine is in verse ; and both were held up as models by Port Royal. From that school Fénelon differed no less widely than did La Fontaine or St-Simon. He was already feeling out after the large prospects which should be revealed when nature and not books came to be the source of inspiration. If, as philosophers teach, the knowledge of contraries is one, a student of Fénelon could not well avoid casting a glance towards Pascal, who in so many ways was by anticipation his opposite.

Detached thoughts concerning this lay Tertullian of the seventeenth century—and thoughts often piercing to the quick of their subject—are extant in such critics of renown as Dean Church and Walter Pater. But no analysis like that of Lord St Cyres, full, minute, and exhaustive, will be discovered in any English volume ; nay, there are aspects of Pascal's earlier days which our author has brought out more clearly than Sainte Beuve himself. Sainte Beuve made this 'beautiful soul' the centre of his 'Port Royal,' as every scholar knows ; and his superb, sympathetic handling is not likely to be surpassed. He did not, however, give the space to Descartes, to Mersenne, to the Chevalier de Méré, to Roberval, or to the beginnings of the Academy of Science in Paris, that these different persons and influences must claim, if we would follow up the method of Pascal to its origins. French studies on each of the points named are not wanting, but in this volume they find their due position ; and, whether we take our guide's final view or select one of our own, we cannot refuse him the acknowledgment of a complete survey, conducted from every side except that of pure literature. He is, indeed, frequently subtle and demands an attentive reader. But no one will charge him with unkindness towards the great troubled genius whom,

even in the hours of a malady which was not altogether physical, he respects. In judging Fénelon the tone was occasionally harsh, the accent tinged with scorn. It would be impossible to scorn Pascal; he was a sovereign mind imprisoned in a body wasted by disease; and those who have termed him a French Lucretius are not wholly wrong.

But disease and a double conversion, with fevers, visions, austerities, cutting a rich life short before thirty-nine, suggest a problem, not for the doctor only, but for the psychologist. We are naturally tempted to explain Pascal's 'Thoughts' by his personal equation. His philosophy, after all, would thus be no more than himself writ large; or, to borrow an expression from Bossuet, Pascal would have flung his emotions into theses and called the result a Christian Apology. Among such as incline to this account of him, Mr Jordan holds a not undistinguished place. He reduces to biography that which others would fain believe had a scientific value; and he attributes to accident the formation even of a character so rigidly consistent with itself as was that of Pascal. The treatment is shrewd, sometimes a little on the surface, and the conclusion is unfavourable. Mr. Jordan argues that the apologist made too exorbitant a demand on his understanding and failed in his search after happiness; that he never conquered his inbred scepticism; that his views of life were but *ægri somnia*, due to his 'emotions and unreasoned beliefs,' and that he was the victim of his own ego, as that was the sport of circumstances. What, on this showing, could the Saint of Jansenism have bequeathed to us with his dying breath? Only the confession that Renan puts on the lips of every supposed philosopher, '*Ergo erravimus.*' But, if we may trust Lord St Cyres, the martyr who had crucified self did not fail. He had begun his journey towards 'the Land of Truth' when he surrendered his reason to faith, his passions to divine love; he was among the elect and saved everlastingly. Thus the two points of view come into collision, and our problem springs up afresh. Let us see what light may be thrown upon it by the evidence at our command.

First, the pedigree. Blaise Pascal came by descent of that old middle-class which was administrative, well

trained in legal traditions, unfriendly to the Church, open to the new seductions of science, neither courtier-like nor democratic, but, as it would be called long afterwards, *juste milieu*. If its leanings were not towards the Fronde—that foolish outbreak of a defeated feudalism which came to nothing—just as little was it enamoured of a Versailles crowded with intriguers and given up to gallantries that shocked its moral sense. In this grave temper we discern the stamp of the Huguenot; we cannot be surprised when it betrays an affinity with the Jansenist. Foreign observers, dazzled by the wit and sparkling humour of a light-hearted upper class, which conquered the world à *pas de charge*, have too much overlooked this *bourgeois* element in French life and history. But whenever we come upon influences, either Gallican, making against Rome, or of Port Royal, tending in the direction of Geneva, we may be sure that the strong, serious, unimaginative lawyer and man of affairs has passed that way. From Du Moulin in the sixteenth century to the philosophic Turgot on the eve of 1789, the succession is unbroken. Pascal and Arnauld, names for ever bound up with the last deliberate effort to make France a Reformed if not a Protestant country, represent the Administration and the Bar. They stand at an equal distance from the chivalry of St Louis and the democracy of Jean Jacques. In religion as in politics they strive to keep the middle way. Had they succeeded, the French king would have been curbed, sooner or later, by a parliament and a constitution; the French Church, self-contained and independent of the Vatican, would have resembled the English under Queen Anne. To a middle class, long at war with papal prerogatives, and not sharing in the splendours or the vices of the Court, what more congenial than Puritanism? But whereas in England the followers of Calvin pulled down throne and altar, among the French they never found a Cromwell or even a Hampden. Still the tradition lasted on, of which Port Royal and the Parliament of Paris were, though in ways not very similar, the historic guardians. And we may conclude that for the young Pascal not to join the opposition to which his father and his father's profession belonged, would have required a freedom from inherited tendencies greater than he ever showed.

But of him, as of another celebrated man, it was true that whatever he willed, he willed vehemently. For by race he was of Clermont, a hard-headed obstinate mountaineer. The French of Paris laugh at these unpolished children of the hills, and have a rhyme about them: 'Ni hommes ni femmes—tous Auvergnats.' The poor lad from Auvergne is still a sort of Gibeonite, a target for many jokes; and even the better class had no reputation in point of distinguished manners. Blaise Pascal, however mighty a genius, did not shine in conversation; he was, as Bacon says of learned men, 'not without superficial levities and deformities.' His bearing was awkward, his choice of topics an offence to the elegant Chevalier de Méré, who took him in hand with an air which now strikes us as tragically amusing when we compare the two men. However, from first to last we remark in this Auvergnat that he never turned aside at the bidding of any director, but pursued his own thought steadily to the end. He possessed in a rare degree the logic of character. Not that he was incapable of learning from a master like Descartes, or of accepting the information which Arnauld and Nicole might offer. But he took these gifts as a king would take them, and stamped his image on the gold.

Now, if it be true that the sense of personality—of the *Moi*, to use our philosopher's own language—is developed most of all in a restricted sphere, by opposition, by contempt poured out from above on our sect, our race, our native district, Pascal was not likely to be wanting in it. His whole family, both men and women, displayed the same resolution, and could be neither bent nor broken. The Arnaulds, too, came from those volcanic mountains of Auvergne. On later generations they have made no clear mark by force of intellect; but Port Royal, which was their creation, is another name for victorious obstinacy of will, unconquered amid its own ruins. This was that Jansenist quality astonishing to Bossuet in defenceless nuns, 'pure as angels, proud as demons,' who could be neither convinced nor coerced. Jacqueline Pascal gloried in it as her brother did, and with no less reason. If they deemed it the outcome of divine grace in their moment of trial, we who know whence they came and

how they were brought up may be allowed to see in it something of human and even of French nature.

Blaise never went to school. He was of a nervous and very feeble constitution, a mathematician and mechanician by instinct, with no companions but his sisters, trained by his father to read and think. The peculiar tone of arrogance which runs through all his writings, and the never-varying regard to self that he vainly denounced but could not overcome, tell us of the solitary home-bred youth, whose world revolves around him as its centre. There was no give and take in Pascal. He is always Master Absolute, except when daunted by the grand manner of a society in which he did not feel at ease. Moreover, the scientific discussions that he witnessed in Paris, the sharp tourneys between Mersenne, Roberval, and other enemies or friends of Descartes, were conducted on methods far removed from the gentle ineptitudes of the Hôtel Rambouillet. This high-tempered amateur, who had never felt the tutor's birch, walked through life like the Alceste of Molière, criticising without mercy all that displeased him, wise in his own conceit, but singularly devoid of the experience which would have made him pause, and quite unacquainted with history, in whose pages he might have learned how tangled is the web of human affairs, and how many things now seemingly anomalous are deep-rooted in the past. His sophomore year of opposition to custom, authority, and compromise, ended only with his life. We call him an amateur, as one who judges of the world standing outside it; the finer name is idealist; and it did appear to him that the real was one vast outrage on that perfect pattern of what ought to be, which he kept in his heart, and by which he judged men and institutions.

His first steps were taken in the revolt against Descartes and Aristotle—the old and the new orthodoxy of science. He was taught rebellion by the sharp wits who allowed him to look on while they tore in pieces the quotations passing as evidence which blocked the path of experiment when it left the Stagirite, now become a pontiff *ex cathedra*. So much for the Greek infallibility. But there was Descartes, who had broken with scholastic methods and invented one of his own.

From 'clear ideas' gained by introspection and combined in a Euclid, not of lines but of notions, the Breton thinker was drawing out a universe on paper to which realities must conform. Aristotle had explained the world by final causes or purpose. Descartes explained it by matter and motion, by a pure mechanism determined in itself. Pascal's teachers put aside final causes, ridiculed the geometrical deduction of realities from ideas, and with Galileo turned to observation and experiment. They did not venture on framing a system; they watched the course of nature and abstained from dogmatising. Newton said afterwards, 'Hypotheses non fingo.' It was against the hypotheses of Descartes and the dogmas of Aristotelians that his Parisian friends warned Pascal. He became an apt scholar. His experiment of the Puy de Dôme refuted the age-long aphorism that nature abhors a vacuum. But it also disclosed a method the very contrary of Descartes, for it proceeded without introspection of ideas and owed nothing to the geometrical syllogism. Instead of the 'necessities of thought,' facts ascertained by the senses were to control knowledge.

Lord St Cyres has brought all this to a brilliant focus, throwing the light thence as far as the 'Pensées,' which is a work of experiment as now applied to religion and yielding results, not in the abstract void, but in the living soul. At Rouen, where Stephen Pascal had taken up his official duties by appointment of Richelieu, the fresh chapter opens. The young man Blaise was caught for a season by 'la sainte philosophie,' or Christian Stoicism, not as it mouths and struts in the plays of Corneille, which he despised (if he did not rather dread their too worldly charm), but in the writings and talk of Du Vair, Chief Justice, Lord Keeper, and Bishop, whose 'moral enthusiasm' led him to preach Epictetus when he should have been expounding the Gospel. At every stage Pascal sought the yoke of a law; and he could eagerly have embraced this doctrine, which demanded stern self-sacrifice, had not Du Vair's own faultiness betrayed where it was feeble. The Stoic, sovereign over his passions, could not be found; the holiness of philosophy was a dream. There are those who turn from such disenchantments to poetry, to literature; and Pascal, not susceptible on the side of imagination, had science

within his grasp. But he could not heal his wounded spirit by victories, however splendid, in mathematics or in physical essays. He wanted something more akin to the soul; it was given him in the shape of a creed professing to renew Christianity as at the beginning, a creed which announced the most heart-shaking dogmas, but which appealed directly to experience for its ground and sanction.

At this point we catch a glimpse of the reason why men who never would accept his beliefs feel an undying interest in Pascal. They know that he was endowed with an intellect to which the deepest of mathematical problems lay accessible. They need but glance at half a dozen of his pages to recognise in him a pregnancy and grace of style which only the grandest of literatures can match, while to excel him in his own province has never been attempted. And they see this incomparable mind subduing itself before a scheme of the world in which literature, science, genius, count for nothing; where the most precious of human gifts are trampled under foot, and all that we value as civilisation or as culture is thrown aside. The kinship of Pascal's chief qualities with Hellenic light and measure has been maintained by his countrymen and is not denied by impartial judges. Yet this Greek, this cousin of the Athenians, passes over to a sect which Hebraised more energetically than the Huguenot itself, for it would have turned all French cities to solitudes like Port Royal, and have left no science standing but its own theology. The Jansenist fixed a great gulf, not to be crossed or filled up, between the world which lay in wickedness and the holy place guarded by religion. For that world he had no theory which it could use, nothing but anathema and the flight of the elect out of Babylon. What motive, it is asked, could a gifted youth like Pascal, when his faculties were expanding so gloriously, find in this terrible creed to win and keep him?

Port Royal would answer that his conversion was a miracle of grace. It was, at all events, a variety of religious experience; and its stages are marked not indistinctly in the '*Pensées*,' where a personal episode becomes, in fact, a crucial instance or type of the great divine transformation as he felt it. We shall enter into

his situation more easily if we bear in mind the language and process familiar to us in England from evangelical biographies and religious revivals. Every one who has looked into these phenomena must be aware that they owe none of their force to logic; that they move by continual waves of feeling; and that these attain their object by a catastrophe or sudden stroke, by an instantaneous shifting from the old centre to a new one, round which henceforth the emotions are grouped. On this point Jansenius and Wesley would not have differed. It is equally obvious that the mental or literary equipment of the normal human being does not constitute motive or premiss in the mystic argument, and that its power lies in obscure regions below the surface of our daily thoughts, corresponding rather to a dream-world than to a waking existence. Such dreams may be the symbolism of worlds which though 'not realised' are in themselves most real. But assuredly they furnish an experience not to be deduced by mere reasoning from the data of physical science or the categories of Aristotelian logic. The old world of every day recedes; the common ground sinks; and the soul passes into another medium. No wonder that such an overmastering ecstasy is deemed revelation, self-given, self-certified. He that has been rapt to the third heaven may well despise the sceptic who denies it and the rationalist who thinks to climb up to it by a ladder of syllogisms starting from the levels of earthly sense.

At Rouen it was, in 1646, that the whole family of the Pascals were swept into the movement of Jansenism. The amateur surgeon who attended Stephen during a long convalescence, and a priest named Guillebert, disciples of St-Cyran, who had died three years previously, were the agents of this revolution, which had nothing in it to surprise any one well acquainted with the circumstances of the time. Spiritual direction was at its height; and, if a household desired to be sincerely religious, it could not but seek a guide among the clergy, for no French Christian had as yet taken up the Quaker attitude of listening to the Spirit and obeying the Inward Light. Now the princes among directors were the Company of Jesus, armed with their founder's 'Spiritual Exercises,' great in resolving cases of conscience, and at

home in all ranks of society. But the Pascals would never have consented to be led by a Jesuit. They were eminent members of a class, legal and professional, which had always made war on the Ignatian brotherhood, charging it with every species of crime, from equivocation to regicide. Thanks to the lawyers, the Jesuits had already been put down in France; and, though restored, they were still odious to a great number, to judges, advocates, and their clients in high places. Stephen Pascal himself disliked the Jesuit system of education; he had taken part in a deputation to the Crown against the Fathers, when they were endeavouring to set up a school at Clermont; and his letter to Père Noel in 1648 shows how keenly hostile these good *bourgeois* felt towards the order eight years before the 'Provinciales' appeared. Such hostility was, in fact, the distinguishing mark of the legal profession. Moreover, Stephen held and taught his children that 'reason and religion had nothing in common,' whereas the Jesuits, who have been rightly termed the party of progress, and even, in some degree, of freedom, in those days when the Catholic reaction triumphed, were busy reconciling all the elements of nature and grace in a synthesis which owed not a little to the Renaissance. On every ground, therefore, it was unlikely that the Pascals would give themselves up to Jesuit guidance. And there was no need, for the Gallican lawyer might now enjoy the services of a Jansenist director, himself broken in to the austerest of religious disciplines by the Abbé St-Cyran.

In 1638, five years before his death, the Abbé had been shut up by Richelieu as an innovator and a second Calvin. Like Ignatius of Loyola, he was a Basque, consumed, as the Cardinal saw, with an inward fire; but he was reserved in manner, tortuous in action, obscure in speech, and utterly independent of the powers of this world. He ruled his penitents with a rod of iron. His teaching, though it dwelt much on God's love towards the elect, was founded on an irresistible fear. It was derived, by a curious mingling of influences, from the later tracts of St Augustine directed against the Pelagian champions of free-will, and from the mystics of the Netherlands represented at Louvain by Michel Bay, at Ypres by Cornelius Jansen. Direct descent from Calvin

is not to be proved, although we never must forget the 'sovereign sway and masterdom' which that French patriarch wielded in theology north of the Alps, and which gave rise to the saying, 'Rome cannot, and Geneva will not, err.' The Flemish doctors put forward St Augustine as a covering name, the infallible standard of truth, towering even above St Thomas Aquinas. They entrenched themselves in Louvain University. They were assailed by the Jesuits, condemned at Rome, and suspected of an alliance with the Protestants, who pitied and despised them. Jansen's 'Augustinus' came out in 1640, two years after his death. St-Cyran had long been preaching its principles effectively at Port Royal and in Paris, not however from the pulpit, but in the confessional and by private conference. His captivity did not arrest the movement; and it is remarkable that all which figures in history as Jansenism was carried forward by second-rate men, and by a group of resolute women, in virtue of the power inherited from a posthumous volume and a dead spiritual director. If we except Blaise Pascal, who illustrates but does not guide Port Royal, there is no genius of the first order to be found among the solitaries, not even the 'great' Arnauld.

Jansen's aim was undoubtedly a restoration of the Pauline spirit, to be attained by sincere conversion in the individual and by a return to St Augustine's theology in the schools. He dreamt of bringing back, in the turbulent seventeenth century, the discipline which had held sway among primitive Christians, when every man kept watch over his neighbour and the church was a garden enclosed. Like his unbending prototype at Geneva, he would have established a reign of the saints and admitted none to church privileges without a certificate of *civisme* founded on well-authenticated virtue. Not only repentance but the 'new life' must go before reception of the Eucharist; and absolution, instead of being the first step to this consummation, was to be the last seal upon it. Whether the Church shall be locked against the sinner, or on what terms opened to him, was a controversy as old as the Novatians. It has often been renewed, above all in the strict dissenting societies; and Jonathan Edwards, no less than Jansen or Tertullian, adopted the stricter view. But the great historical institutions

East and West, including the Church of England, have preferred to encounter the charge of laxity rather than the peril of Pharisaism. The reign of the saints would have meant, in the France of 1650, an organised hypocrisy, tempered by the epigrams of the Fronde. Even Port Royal did not escape the scandal of its friendship with Cardinal de Retz.

But Pascal, half-paralysed and unhappy, saw in the 'Augustinus' a description of human nature that showed him his own countenance as in a looking-glass; while his misery could not be healed by science, neither by Du Vair's stoical virtue nor by Descartes' challenge to 'rally the best in the depth of ourselves.' The religious sense, according to Lord St Cyres, now awoke in him. He underwent a change that is known as his first conversion. Was it complete? In his 'Legend,' which has been somewhat manipulated for effect by his family and Port Royal, we hear of him very soon as a backslider, as dissipated in the whirl of Parisian amusements, as almost a mocker of the saints, with whom he no longer consorted.

We shall not fancy him a 'Libertine' for all this gloomy talk. But upon the grave landscape a ray of romance lingers doubtfully. The young man, famous now, on equal terms with Descartes, flushed with his victories over Père Noel, S.J., had contracted an imperious friendship with the Duc de Roannez, and was received in the world of fashion. Did he, though of a lower class and no great fortune, aspire to the affection of his friend's sister, Mlle de Roannez? There is a 'Discours sur les Passions de l'Amour,' attributed to him by good judges, and dated about 1653, which, if it is drawn from his own feelings, would point in this direction. With Mr Jordan we may embroider on the page a possible story of unrequited love, and coupling with it Jacqueline Pascal's entrance at Port Royal, may find in these blows struck at his worldly happiness the motive of that last conversion in which he broke away from fashion, science, friendship, and all philosophy, save the pure Christian instinct. We may arrange his legend on the lines of a novel; but the evidence is too shadowy, and the return to Jansen does not call for it. Pascal's temperament was, if not morbid, at least reflective and sombre. His correspondence in 1656 with Mlle de Roannez shows him in the light of a

masterful director, but would have read very strangely had there been romantic passages between them. The lady, torn afterwards from her convent and forcibly married to the Duc de la Feuillade, cherished in her desolate days the memory of the noblest man she had ever known; she held him as 'a thing enskied and sainted'; but surely no touch of human love had come to either of them.

Never did a new recruit make a more dramatic entrance on the stage of religious controversy or of national literature than Pascal in the year 1656, which opens with him the *grand siècle* of French prose. He brought to the cloisters of Port Royal an air as of courts and academies, a wit that seemed improvisation, a critical sagacity winged with language most direct and simple, a soldier's sword, an enthusiast's passion, and the cool eye which, surveying a battlefield, knows where to strike. Jansen was a pedant; St-Cyran had no style; Arnauld could never leave off; and the rest were mediocrities. Even Sainte Beuve, who lays on them his finest colours, cannot paint the recluses as swans or eagles. But of Pascal it is hardly too much to say that he shines out as Greek and heroic in a contest where dullness reigned before and after him. The one hour he would have chosen rang him up. Earlier, he would have lost his way in the fogs of the 'Augustinus'; later, his bright spirit would have undergone eclipse in the mirky twilight of casuistry regarding 'the doctrine and the fact,' of respectful silences, ambiguous treaties, and interminable discussions concerning legal subterfuges. The 'Provincial Letters' are an episode which was complete in itself and had no sequel. They have cast a glory over Jansenism; yet with Port Royal they are connected only by accident, as in fact they have survived it. Had they continued as they began we may grant to their sharpest opponent, Joseph de Maistre, that not even Pascal's genius could have riveted the world's attention upon abstruse problems of grace, sufficient or efficacious. But when the magic words were uttered, 'There is nothing like the Jesuits,' all France settled down to watch the combat and to admire this bold champion, who engaged a host single-handed without waiting for auxiliaries.

Much of the 'Provincial Letters' is to-day antiquated.

Few can have read them to the end for pleasure; and Voltaire is justified in declaring their subject-matter dry, though not in ascribing to Pascal the idle wish—it might as well be ascribed to Dante—of merely amusing the public. Nor was the campaign against the Society of Jesus a diversion intended to cover Arnauld's defeat; to a man of the new convert's antecedents and convictions it was inevitable. The question of life and death for religious-minded persons, as he held, was who should direct their conscience, Jansenist or Jesuit. Problems of grace might agitate the Sorbonne; they left the people outside. But the confessor governed high and low; he was the oracle whom every one must obey that desired to live according to the Gospel. Those five propositions which had been fastened on Jansen, and which perhaps contained the substance of his theology, might be flung to the wolves; but St-Cyran's followers could not give up the principles of direction they had learnt from their master. Moreover, if the grounds on which Pascal had been converted were not false, the specimens of casuistry now submitted to him could never be anything but a caricature and a degradation of Christian ethics. Add to these motives a feeling, instilled from early youth, of dislike to the great Spanish order, quickened afterwards by his dispute with Père Noel, and it will be plain that in attacking such enemies the fervid Jansenist would feel himself to be avenging his religion and his country, while doing homage to his father's memory and bettering his example.

The new-comer in this field made no attempt to review the history or to bring out the ideals of the Society which he judged from a single point of sight. Men like Suarez, Molina, Lessius, eminent as thinkers and teachers, were to him only casuists of a hateful type. As a satire on legalism so decadent that it had become, like certain parts of the Jewish Talmud, fantastic and grotesque, the 'Provincial Letters' won an easy victory. All they had to do was to quote the words of Escobar and his Old Bailey attorneys, and to let these tell their own tale. But this cry of a wounded conscience rang out upon the air with such a piercing accent that the very men who were murdering religion by their sophisms looked up in terror and shame. They could

not answer; deep silence followed that cry; and then a hurried condemnation of their own maxims, as if the day of judgment threatened by Pascal had suddenly come upon them. His deadly laughter was the *auto da fé* which they could not abide. The situation held in it a dreadful irony, for here was a layman passing sentence on priests, a mere practitioner in physics and man of letters calling theologians to the bar, a journalist routing the schools in which he could not claim the meanest place. We feel as we read something of the awe which Dante felt when he looked up to that Angel who, crossing the River of Hades dryshod, smote with his staff upon the gates of the city of Dis and burst them open:

‘Ahi, quanto mi pareva pien di disdegno!’

The mockery passing into solemn judgments bound on the culprits by name; the lofty eloquence which is no longer playful but scathing; the summons to Père Annat by a voice unknown yet sounding close in his ear; the mysterious writing on the wall which foretold a catastrophe, delayed though it might be for a hundred years; these things import such a combination of qualities in a mere pamphlet, and such consequences of a private indictment launched on the world anonymously, as it would be impossible to find elsewhere. And the work thus made known to France, famous on the morrow of its publication, was not only a masterpiece, but the prologue, fit and prophetic, of a whole literature. It was the nearest approach in a modern language to the Attic style. Like most French authors, Pascal had little acquaintance with Greek; he was no scholar. He does not copy either Plato or Demosthenes. If he is grandly simple, severe, without ornament, he owes it to geometry, of which his sentences and periods imitate the direct movement, the precision, the peremptory force. He compels admiration and assent by an inward logic that never lets him turn aside after quaint illustrations, or to show his learning, or that he may indulge a poetical vein. Compared with Pascal, Rabelais seems a trifler and Montaigne is garrulous. They sport hither and thither, pleased with themselves and their thick-coming fancies; they are still romantic and make-believe, as if children, though of a larger growth. Pascal writes for a purpose of which he

never loses sight ; he is a preacher and his art is a means, not an end. This was to be in the very spirit of Port Royal. Therefore he cannot love poetry, which he would banish from the Christian republic as Plato sent it away with compliments out of his Utopia.

That practical aim which inspired the 'Provinciales' runs through Pascal's 'Pensées' and determines his method. He detested abstractions ; he could not look at 'things in themselves' ; he is always subjective and of necessity controversial. In the 'Letters' he had before him one of the greatest themes ever broached by Christianity ; for we may term it dialectics, or how the law of love is to be applied to life. Casuistry was, in idea, nothing else than this, a resolution of general principles into conduct in the light of an ideal. But the criticism we gain from so mordant a satire is negative, and the danger lurks in it of a Voltairian persiflage, or of Gibbon's 'solemn sneer,' when controversy is pointed upon another object, not against the follies of lax theologians, but against religion itself. There was too much of the Fronde in Pascal's method ; he is a partisan at all times ; and his defence of the Gospel, when he attacked the Libertines, as in the 'Provinciales' he had attacked the Jesuits, would have been a pamphlet no less than an apology, had he lived to complete it.

In our day the 'Letters' are more praised than studied. The 'Pensées,' though a heap of fragments—Sibylline leaves which no ingenuity can reduce to order—have acquired new significance. In point of style they exhibit a perfection which stamps them as absolute in form and equal in depth to the mind that gave them birth, as transparent, unaffected, characteristic of their author, while expressing a mood of Christian evidences which now appeals to many who cannot find a solution of their doubts in the common view. It is an argument derived from the experience of conversion, as Pascal underwent it in the 'night of power,' whose record he always bore about him, and thus it resumes the purpose of his whole life ; an argument faithful to the principles he had gone upon during his investigations in science, and thus it contains by implication his theory of knowledge. The problem of Pascal, if to be solved at all, must find its answer in these scattered leaves as they fell from his dying hands.

Pascal had become a changed man in response to a sudden supernatural experience, as by a vision of fire, on lines which, a century afterwards, staid ecclesiastics denounced as enthusiasm and Methodism. His 'Thoughts' are an apology for this ecstatic way of finding salvation; they yield us the Puritan philosophy, disengaged from Calvin's terms, and set out in a language not technical but intensely human. It is their very simplicity which has made his reasonings difficult to follow on the part of learned Christians and men of the world. For he takes no account of learning, while he supposes in the disciple he would win a religious instinct which the worldling, as such, cannot comprehend. It is true that he begins by clearing the ground, or by a destructive criticism of the apologetics in fashion. And he borrows his weapons, ready made, from Montaigne, whose extreme repugnance to the Gospel was cloaked under an affectation of respect, and who severed it from reason that he might allow it to perish on the rocks of fanaticism. Pascal went along with him one mile, but turned off at the second. In plain words, the sceptic and the Puritan both agree that human nature, left to itself, has neither knowledge nor love of divine things. But whereas the sceptic rests in this as his final conclusion, to the Puritan it is a mere preliminary; he is not dismayed when told that the natural man is blind and deaf, nay, dead to religion. He never dreamt it was otherwise. Accordingly, Pascal makes a clean sweep of rational theology, and with it of the apologetics taught in the schools. Nor does he spare Descartes. All must go, the argument from design, the geometrical method, the appeal to unbiassed reason. His apology is not a chapter in abstract or impersonal science; it is a call to everlasting life.

To establish religion in its own power, on an experience and principles peculiar to itself, was, he would contend, the only means of setting it free from dogmatists who ground it into notions, and of protecting it against sceptics by telling them frankly that, except through a miraculous change, they never could know it. In so doing, Pascal gave up the pretension of treating Christianity as something universal, as a matter of cool evidence and unprejudiced reflection. It was meant for the elect, not for all mankind. Natural religion did not

exist; and its arguments, for instance in Raymond de Sébonde, were not real proofs but meditations of a soul converted by grace which saw all things in God. From this coign of vantage, using our modern idiom, it would be true to maintain that an agnostic is nearer the Gospel than a rationalist. Like Jansen, this prophetic seer beheld the eighteenth century coming on with its Deism, its exaltation of man's original qualities, and its rose-tinted prospects of the future. By anticipation he was refuting Voltaire, Rousseau, and Paley. To the age of reason he opposed the age of faith. He could therefore depict humanity in the darkest colours of Lucretius and show forth nature as its cruel stepmother.

In this process we observe one, who by intellect was distinctly Greek, eliminating from religion all but the Hebrew elements to which it is indebted for its quality of revelation—the quality which distinguishes it from systems that are the offspring of man's own thought. When Pascal said, 'The heart has its reasons which reason does not understand,' he was echoing the language of the Old Testament; but he was also laying claim to a deeper logic than is taught in books. That other, larger apprehension, personal, though often repeated, was not mere feeling nor an 'idol of the cave.' For it took hold of experience; it was equal to the greatness and littleness of man; it brought joy out of sorrow and truth out of scepticism. Ideas were not its term, but real and eternal objects of which ideas could but faintly trace the outlines. In and through the 'mystery of Jesus' it solved all other mysteries, and the voice of religion thus made certain proclaimed the harmony of the world.

It would be tempting now to follow the fortunes of this Hebrew apologetic, opposed alike to speculation and unbelief, along its remarkable course. We should trace it in the ruin of natural theology which Kant undertook by his 'Critique of Pure Reason,' and in the appeal to experience of life and the moral law which governs his constructive efforts, though he sinks down to an almost impersonal idea of duty without God. We should see Pascal beginning the journey towards agnosticism which has brought later French generations to the threshold of Auguste Comte, who finds the only oracle of truth in the Church of Humanity, discarding the supernatural because

reason is unable to discover it. Paley, in the schools of Oxford, renews Minucius Felix and Descartes. But he is opposed by Newman, who reiterates the arguments of Pascal against a scheme of evidences from which grace is absent; who defends the logic of the heart as larger and deeper than the formal syllogism; who hears the voice of God in his own conscience; who cannot away with the 'usurpations of reason'; and who requires in a convert to Christianity not the mere gift of concluding well from premisses laid down in books, but an ethical temper and the 'will to believe.' We might even ask whether the so-called 'pragmatism' of a more recent philosophy has not in Pascal its author and instance.

On these high matters it is expedient to keep silence rather than to speak inadequately. The simple mention of them, however, will suggest that in the '*Pensées*' great questions are opened, not to be laid to rest until a system transcending scholastic geometry has been found, in which the arguments, abstract and concrete alike, that commend religion to the head as well as the heart, shall combine in a Christian apology. Such a scheme, to quote words which describe it admirably, would be at once 'mystical and rational'; it would 'enlist in its service the best forces of both worlds—the world of reason and morals, and the world of sympathy and emotion.' Because Pascal held too lightly by reason, his demonstration of Christianity has the air of an assault upon intellect itself; as the whole of his casuistry ended in detachment from common duties, it appeared to sin against civilisation; and the tragedy of his life is, perhaps, at last, that in defending the truth of revelation he sacrificed the truth of humanity.

This may be called the mystical fallacy; and Pascal died of it. Because the Infinite claims us, therefore finite things are to have no value. Hence those latter days, made poignant to all who read of them by strange unlovely traits, that perverse refusal of amenities which protect us against the lower life. Religion cannot dispense with morality; Pascal has proved this on the body of Escobar. But neither can it abjure manners and reason, unless we would justify Voltaire in denouncing it as a deadly superstition.

WILLIAM BARRY.

Art. 7.—THE PROMISE OF LATIN AMERICA.

1. *The South American Series*. Edited by Martin Hume. London: Fisher Unwin. *Chile*, by G. F. Scott Elliott, 1907. *Peru*, by C. R. Enoch, 1908. *Mexico*, by C. R. Enoch, 1909. *Argentina*, by W. A. Hirst, 1910.
 2. *A History of South America*. By C. E. Akers. London: Murray, 1904.
 3. *Through Five Republics*. By P. F. Martin. London: Heinemann, 1905.
 4. *Mexico of the Twentieth Century*. By P. F. Martin. Two vols. London: Arnold, 1907.
 5. *The Republic of Colombia*. By F. Loraine Petre. London: Stanford, 1906.
 6. *Argentina, Past and Present*. By W. H. Koebel. New and enlarged edition. London: Kegan Paul, 1910.
 7. *The Rise and Progress of the South American Republics*. By G. R. Crichfield. Two vols. London: Unwin, 1909.
 8. *The Great States of South America*. By Domville Fife. London: Unwin, 1910.
- And other works.

THE large number of works published during the past five or six years upon the republics of Latin America furnishes a conclusive proof of the interest felt in the subject of which they treat. The list given above is representative of those that have recently appeared, but is far from exhaustive. There are several reasons for such a display of interest at the present time. In the first place the great advance in prosperity of the four leading Latin American States, Mexico, Argentina, Chile and Brazil, and the proof that has been afforded of the latent resources and bright prospects of these countries under stable government, has attracted universal attention to them as fields for investment, trade and settlement. In the second place, there is at the present time no portion of the earth's surface less known than large areas of the vast and imperfectly explored interior of the South American continent, and none with more remarkable and grandiose physical features. The giant Cordilleras of the Andes, running without a break parallel to the Pacific coast for 3500 miles and at no great distance from it, teem with mineral wealth and form the watershed of

the most magnificent river-systems in the world, navigable for tens of thousands of miles, and giving access even for large vessels to the far interior. The potentialities of this land of rich alluvial plains, of virgin tropical forests, of vast pastoral uplands, of almost fabulous abundance of the precious metals, invest it still with much of the fascination and romance of the unknown.

In the third place, the progress that is being made with the construction of the Panama Canal renders it practically certain that within a couple of decades the opening to commerce of that inter-oceanic waterway will revolutionise the conditions of trade and intercourse between the eastern and western States of the American continent; and, what is perhaps even more important, the distance of the ports on the Pacific coast from Liverpool and Hamburg will be shortened by many thousands of miles. The effect of such a change will be in any case enormous, and is a subject which should be studied in anticipation, in all its bearings, by every trading community. Lastly, the celebration of the centenary of Argentine independence, on May 25, 1910, followed, as it will be, in rapid succession by similar celebrations in the other Spanish-American republics, marks out the present time as one eminently suited for a serious review of the condition of these republics as they are to-day, in the light of their past experiences, with the aim of forming some reasonable estimate of their future prospects. In South America itself it is to be feared there will be little in the keeping of these centenaries suggestive of that subdued and chastened spirit which would be most in harmony with the retrospect they invite.

No impartial person who has studied, however cursorily, the history of the Spanish-American peoples during the century that has elapsed since they first rose in revolt against the mother-country, can fail to feel profound disappointment at the almost tragic misuse that has been made of splendid opportunities. Independence was everywhere followed by intestine convulsions and sanguinary strife. One set of military dictators after the other obtained possession of power by force of arms, and not infrequently used the power thus gained to further their own selfish interests to the injury of the State. Such was—with the partial exception of

Chile—universally the condition of things throughout Spanish America until, with the final advent to power of President Porfirio Diaz in 1884, Mexico began to set an example of steady and stable progress, which has been followed with happy results in Argentina and Chile, and has exercised a wholesome influence in Peru. In these three republics the period of violence and unrest has, it is to be hoped, definitely passed away. Wiser counsels and a saner spirit prevail, and are bringing an increased prosperity that is of good augury for the future. The other Spanish republics are unfortunately in various degrees still a field for the struggle of rival factions, or rather of small groups of politicians wrestling for the spoils of power. Uruguay, Bolivia, Paraguay, Ecuador, in the order named, are making a real advance; and, if only the dread of revolutions, with their attendant lowering of credit and destruction of property, could be finally abolished, this would remove, at the same time, what is at present the greatest obstacle to the full development of their resources. In the States which half encircle the Caribbean Sea, there are, as their recent history clearly testifies, no signs of improvement.

There could scarcely be a greater contrast than that which exists between the history of the United States of America in the century which followed its declaration of independence and the history of the republics of South America during a similar period. It is necessary, however, to point out that this contrast is due not only to the marked difference between the racial characteristics of English and Spanish colonists, but to other causes, and especially to this. The free population of the revolted English colonies was practically homogeneous; the free population of the Spanish colonies consisted of a mixture of races differing widely from one another—a population which was not a hundred years ago and is not to-day fused into a national type. The peoples of the South American republics are still peoples in the making. Meanwhile it is scarcely surprising that they should exhibit that instability of temperament which experience has shown to be generally the accompaniment of mixture of blood.

This vital distinction must not be ignored; and it has its origin far back in the fundamental differences of type

between the English and Spanish systems of colonisation in the New World. The English settlers in the colonies along the eastern coast of North America, many of them political and religious refugees, became traders and agriculturists. From the first they were allowed to possess large powers of self-government; and the bond which attached them to the mother-country was of the loosest. Each colony had its own constitution, modelled on that of the homeland, which on its part interfered as little as possible with the internal development of the 'plantations.' Thus the colonists, continually reinforced by fresh bodies of immigrants, acquired habits of independence and political training under free institutions; and for this reason they remained typically English in character. In their relation with the native Indian tribes the attitude of the American colonists was also characteristic of the nation from which they sprang. The Englishman can rule inferior races with success; he cannot amalgamate with them. The Indians with whom the settlers in North America came in contact were rude wandering savages. No attempt was made to anglicise them; no serious effort to convert them to the Christian faith. Inter-marriage was rare. As the area of occupation extended, the Indians perforce withdrew before it further inland. To remain meant extermination.

Very different was the story of Spanish colonisation in the South. It was the lust for gold and silver that lured the *conquistadores* to lay at the feet of their king a dominion which stretched through seventy-nine degrees of latitude. In Mexico and Peru they found thickly populated and civilised empires. The overthrow of these empires was attended by acts of ruthless barbarity, the record of which can only be read with horror and shame. But the cruel deeds of Cortes, Pizarro and other adventurers must not be confounded with the settled policy of the Spanish Government, when once the administration of its vast territories had been taken in hand.

The difference both in spirit and in practice between the Spanish and English systems of administration could scarcely be sharper. Mexico, Peru, New Granada, far from being self-governing colonies attached by the loosest of ties to a mother-country which interested herself but little in their internal affairs, were kingdoms whose

crowns rested on the head of the King of Castile, and which were by him autocratically ruled. Legislation, even in minute details, was enacted by royal decrees, *cedulas reales* issued by the Council of the Indies, which had supreme authority in the king's name in all civil and practically in all ecclesiastical matters. These decrees were carried out by the Viceroy and Captains-General sent out from Spain. The first aim of the administration was to obtain a large revenue for the replenishing of the king's treasury, through royalties on the produce of the mines, through the sale of monopolies and offices, and through heavy duties and taxation. A constant supply of bullion was desired; not a thought was bestowed upon the commercial or industrial prosperity of the colonies that furnished it. On the contrary, commerce was severely restricted to one port, Seville (later Cadiz), all trade with foreign nations and even between colony and colony being forbidden. Immigration was discouraged, and indeed offered few attractions; for all important offices, civil, military and ecclesiastical, as well as huge landed estates, were bestowed on European Spaniards. The Creoles (American-born Spaniards), therefore, having no openings for trade, no prospects of lucrative posts, and a disdain for agriculture, congregated in the larger towns, where they became members of the learned professions, shopkeepers, clerks and petty officials. These men, it will easily be seen, had legitimate grievances, which became accentuated as years passed by, and which were one day to find expression in revolt.

Nevertheless there was another side to Spanish administration, which compares favourably with English methods. The treatment of the native question, contrary to popular opinion on the subject, was from the very first singularly humane and liberal. So early as 1542, 'the new laws for the Indies' declared the native Indians to be freemen; and every effort was made to civilise them and to convert them to Christianity. A large measure of success attended this humanitarian policy, for the great bulk of the native population was baptised into the Catholic faith, and learnt to speak the Spanish language; and, being gathered into villages, each with its own priest and two native *alcaldes* to administer the law, the Indians became good Spanish subjects.

The 'Commonwealth of the Indians' was treated indeed as a distinct and separate part of the body politic; and there were officials named protectors in each district, and a chief protector in the capital, whose duties were to secure the Indians against serfdom, injustice or harsh treatment. Unfortunately the exaction of forced labour, in the place of certain taxes from which the Indian was exempt, led to many abuses; and many thousands of these unhappy people perished in the mines from hardships and disease. But all these terrible sufferings, with the accompanying loss of life, took place in direct contravention of the instructions of the home authorities, which the Governors either did not feel themselves strong enough to enforce, or at the breach of which it was their interest to connive.

There can be little doubt, moreover, that there has been much exaggeration in what has been written upon this subject. Though numbers of the natives undoubtedly perished, in no part of South America were they exterminated. On the contrary, the white settlers, being chiefly of the male sex and never large in numbers, were encouraged to intermarry and did intermarry freely with the Indian women. The natural result of such a policy was the rapid upgrowth of a *mestizo* or mixed-blood population. At the present day the number of Latin Americans who can boast of pure white descent is remarkably small. There are no trustworthy census returns, but in several of the republics (excluding European immigrants of recent date) probably not more than five per cent. of the population is of unmixed blood. The *peon* or labouring class, throughout Central and South America, is in the main Indian or *mestizo*, with the Indian type strongly predominating. In the tropical states, where negro labour was employed, there is also a considerable infusion of black blood—mulattos and *zambos*,* and every conceivable blend between the two. And yet, despite this variety of diverse racial elements in the population, the first thing that strikes the attention of all travellers is the community of type between all the sixteen republics which make up what is known as Latin

* Mulatto = blend of European and negro; mestizo = blend of European and Indian; zambo = blend of Indian and negro.

America. Of these fifteen are thoroughly Spanish, speaking one language, professing the same faith, and having common traditions, manners and characteristics. This permanent imprinting of Castilian nationality upon so vast an area offers at least a singular testimony to the fact that Spanish colonial methods, however patent their defects, were not lacking in effectiveness nor in a certain grandeur of their own. In the sixteenth State, Brazil, the Portuguese policy followed closely on the lines of the Spanish, and was equally successful in leaving the stamp of Portuguese civilisation on the entire population, Creole, half-caste and Indian, in that large portion of the continent which they attempted to colonise.

The condition and prospects, therefore, of Latin America at the opening of the twentieth century present problems of peculiar interest and considerable complexity. The great experiment which is being tried is almost without a parallel in history. There is, indeed, a certain superficial resemblance between the Iberian latinisation of the whole American continent, south of the United States, and the Roman latinisation of Western Europe in the first centuries of the Christian era; but there is also a profound difference between the two processes. The tribes of western Europe, whom the Roman law and the Latin language blended together in one common civilisation and dominion under the imperial sway of the Cæsars, were all of the white stock, many of them closely allied to one another racially, none of them alien in type to their Italian conquerors. The provinces speedily became 'Latin' communities; and the cultured and influential provincials might aspire to hold high office in the Roman State. In America the provinces of the Spanish dominion became, as completely as did those of the Roman, 'Latin' communities; but in this case it was a civilisation imposed by a few thousand *conquistadores* upon a native population absolutely alien in blood, in colour and in origin. During four centuries these two alien races have been in the closest intercourse and have intermarried with such frequency and for so lengthy a period that the spectacle is everywhere being presented of the gradual evolution of new nationalities of mixed blood.

Meanwhile in each republic there is a small minority, proud of their pure (or almost pure) Spanish descent,

who form a cultured, aristocratic ruling caste, and reside almost exclusively in the large cities, which are the seats of government. The ancestors of these men were the Creoles of the days of Spanish rule; and, as has already been said, the Creoles were in those days practically excluded by the Crown from high official posts. Their lot was a hard one, and their grievances were very real; yet the armed risings in 1810 against the authority of a Spain which had become a conquered dependency of a foreign power by no means implied any unanimous desire on the part of the colonists to throw off their allegiance to the Spanish Crown. On the contrary, a large number, while refusing to submit either to the authority of Joseph Bonaparte, or to that of the revolutionary Junta at Seville, remained steadfastly loyal to their King in exile. But the outbreak of insurrection, as is always the case, let loose forces and ambitions that had been long kept in control; and revolt was speedily followed by a succession of Declarations of Independence modelled on that of the United States. It was not, however, until after more than a decade of furious fighting and savage reprisals on both sides, that the royalist forces, which were largely recruited in South America itself, were finally driven out of the field by the revolutionary armies.

During the struggle, the old, autocratically administered Spanish colonies had been converted into self-governing republics. The difficult task of starting them successfully on their new career would have tested the capacity of tried parliamentary statesmen; it had perforce to be entrusted to men who had no experience whatever of the working or the spirit of democratic institutions. In theory, throughout these republics, the machinery of self-government is excellent, for the South American Spaniard has a genius for drawing up elaborate constitutional and legal systems, admirably conceived to ensure perfection alike in the political and judicial spheres of administration. But it has been generally remarked that there is in his nature a curious combination of contradictory qualities. Practice and theory are diametrically opposed. Law-making for the community is the Spanish American's delight; law-breaking is the privilege to which, as an individual, he regards himself as possessing an indefeasible claim. The truth must be

sadly confessed that, though all these states have carefully-framed constitutions based on that of the United States, with every possible paper safeguard for the government being the free expression of the people's will, as a matter of fact none of them is a true republic in anything but name. The entire executive power is in reality concentrated in the hands of the President, who is virtually a dictator, having the control of the military and naval forces, and disposing of the entire patronage of the state. The elections are little more than a pretentious farce. Only a small fraction of the electorate go to the poll. Those who are known to be disaffected to the Government vote at their peril. If necessary, the ballot-boxes are stuffed, or the returns tampered with. It is not therefore to be wondered at that the history of these inchoate states should during the greater part of the nineteenth century have been one long tale of disastrous internecine strife. Experience has had to be bought, and it has been bought dearly, but, as the rapidly improving condition of the leading states of Latin America is year by year showing, probably effectually.

The greatest of the revolutionary leaders, Simon Bolivar, may himself be cited in corroboration of the justice of what has just been said. He died in 1831, despairing of the future of the peoples he had emancipated. He is reported to have said: 'Those who have served the revolution have ploughed the sea. Were it possible that a part of the world should lapse into primeval chaos, that would be the last state of America.' The countries to which the 'Liberator' was specially referring were Colombia and Venezuela; and it may be truly said that in the case of these two republics the prediction has been almost literally verified. A prominent Colombian authority (quoted by Mr Crichfield) declares:

'In no country in the world have there been adopted as many Constitutions as in Colombia. . . . We have had since 1811 ninety Constitutions. In them have been adopted, within the republican regimen, all possible combinations—rigorous centralisation, mitigated centralisation, relative federation, absolute federation, and confederation.'

This, of course, means that there has been a continuous series of revolutions and civil wars. The plight of

Venezuela, Bolivar's native land, has in many respects been even worse. The cruel and blood-stained dictatorships in Argentina of Juan Manuel Rosas, from 1829 to 1852, and in Paraguay of the three successive tyrants, Dr Francia (1816-41), Carlo Antonio Lopez (1841-62), and Francisco Solano Lopez (1862-70), were undoubtedly more disastrous to the welfare of these unhappy countries than even continual civil war. The fact that the population of Spanish America, in the opinion of trustworthy authorities, did not, in 1900, exceed that of the Spanish colonies a hundred years ago tells its own tale.

It may at this point be asked, how is it that so rich and fertile a portion of the earth should have been allowed for so long a period to remain thus misused? Why did not the great colonising nations step in to restore order, to make settlements, and to develop the resources of a continent teeming with potential wealth, but lying idle and unworked through the unfitness of its possessors? The answer is that 'the Monroe doctrine'—in other words, the expressed will of the United States—stood as a bar to any interference on the part of European Powers with the independence of the Latin-American republics, and thus left them to work out their own salvation in their own way.

Since 1823 the Monroe doctrine has been accepted as the unchangeable policy of the United States; but it should be borne in mind that its original object was the security and welfare of the United States themselves; and that the powerful protection of the Anglo-American republic was extended over the weaker Latin republics of the South, not from any motives of mere benevolence or quixotism, but of self-preservation. It is only in comparatively recent times that various occurrences have led to a revision of its principles, or at least to new ideas as to their application. The dangers arising from an ill-considered assertion of its claims, such as was made by President Cleveland in 1895; the results of the Spanish-American war; the blockade of the Venezuelan ports by the allied squadrons of England, Germany and Italy; the circumstances attending the erection of the republic of Panama; the difficult relations of the United States themselves with the Venezuelan dictator, Castro, with Colombia, and with the turbulent Central American

republics—all these matters have given rise to much searching of heart in the United States. President Roosevelt has made many declarations on the subject; but perhaps the general lines of the revised policy, which he endeavoured to carry out, may be best gathered from an address he delivered before the Chatauqua Assembly in August 1905:

'The Monroe doctrine' (he remarked) 'is not a part of international law. But it is the fundamental feature of our foreign policy, so far as the Western Hemisphere is concerned, and it has more and more been meeting with recognition abroad. The reason why it is meeting with this recognition is because we have not allowed it to become fossilised, but have adapted our construction of it to meet the growing, changing needs of this hemisphere. . . . It is out of the question to claim a right and yet shirk the responsibility for exercising that right. When we announce a policy such as the Monroe doctrine, we thereby commit ourselves to accepting the consequences; and those consequences from time to time alter.'

He then proceeds at some length to explain that the Monroe doctrine would not imply that the United States was bound to protect any South American republic which had committed a tort against the persons of the citizens of another nation, or which refused to pay its just debts; but that, if the United States intervened to prevent the foreign nation from punishing the offending republic by armed occupation of any portion of its territory, then it would be clearly the duty of the United States to step in and compel its sister republic to make reparation.

This, then, may be taken to be the modern form of the Monroe doctrine. It is a policy attended with many difficulties. The southern States, while quite ready to shelter themselves behind the great republic of the north in cases of dispute with European Powers, have no love for their protector, and are exceedingly suspicious of any action which seems to convey any assumption of suzerainty or any infringement of their territorial rights as independent nations. The policy of the United States Government has hitherto been marked by excessive caution, even in circumstances of great provocation by President Castro. But the part played by the Americans in the erection of the republic of Panama has left a bad

impression. Vast sums of money are being sunk in the construction of the Isthmian Canal. Its strategic importance will, when completed, be enormous; its security a matter of vital consequence. It is feared, therefore, and not unnaturally, that the treatment meted out to Colombia in 1903 may be the prelude to other high-handed acts when occasion demands. The turbulent central American republics almost invite coercion. Nicaragua, the worst of the six, contains the alternative route for an inter-oceanic canal. For some time past a devastating civil war has been raging in that country; and threats of American intervention for the restoration of order have been frequently heard. The indignation aroused by a recent letter of the German Emperor, recognising one of the rival presidents without previous intimation to Washington, gave an unmistakable indication of the sensitiveness of American public opinion on this subject. There is a growing feeling in favour of definite action, should circumstances call for it. If such action should be taken, and it should eventually lead, as is quite possible, to the establishment of an 'American' protectorate over the Isthmian republics, it would meet with a strong protest from Mexico, and ultimately, perhaps, to the drawing together of all the Latin republics and the formation of a defensive alliance between them for the protection of their common liberties and interests. At the present moment, the question of a triple alliance between the three strongest South American republics, Argentina, Brazil and Chile—the so-called A B C alliance—is being seriously discussed.

The subject of the relations between the United States and South America should not be dismissed without a reference to what is known as the Drago doctrine. It had its origin in a treatise on International Law by a distinguished Argentine authority on the subject, Señor Carlos Calvo, which was published in 1868. One of his disciples, Señor Luis M. Drago, a member of The Hague Tribunal which recently arbitrated on the Fisheries question, was in 1902 Foreign Minister in Argentina, a country rich in international lawyers. The doctrine called by his name was first formulated in a letter, dated December 29, 1902, sent by the Foreign Minister, through the Argentine envoy at Washington, to Secretary Hay.

The letter was really a protest against the blockade of the Venezuelan ports by Great Britain, Germany and Italy, which was then impending. Señor Drago laid down the principle that all States, whatever the force at their disposal, are in international law sovereign entities, and are entitled to equal rights; consequently, any compulsory collection of debts by force at a given moment by a stronger nation is an infringement of the weaker nation's inherent rights as a sovereign entity, for the collection of such debts by military means implies territorial occupation, and territorial occupation signifies the suppression and subordination of the countries on whom it is imposed. But the treatment recently accorded by President Castro to the rights of citizens of the United States in Venezuela was not such as to secure for him the benevolent sympathy of the American Government. In a reply of studied neutrality, Secretary Hay declined to express either assent to or dissent from the propositions set forth in the Argentine Minister's note. He merely referred him to the language of recent presidential messages in which President Roosevelt had declared:

'We do not guarantee any State against punishment if it misconducts itself, provided that punishment does not take the form of the acquisition of territory by any non-American power (Dec. 3, 1901).' And again (Dec. 2, 1902): 'It behoves each State to maintain order within its own borders, and to discharge its just obligations to foreigners. When this is done they can rest assured that, be they strong or weak, they have nothing to dread from outside interference.'

Herein was cold comfort; but this chilling attitude was exchanged at the third Pan-American Conference, held at Rio de Janeiro in 1906, for a modified acceptance of the principle of the Drago proposal; and it was agreed that the delegates of the several governments should 'invite the second Peace Conference at The Hague (to be held the following year) to consider the question of the compulsory collection of public debts and, in general, means tending to diminish conflicts having exclusively pecuniary origin.' Accordingly, at the Conference at The Hague, which met June 15, 1907, the subject was brought forward and discussed, and the proposal of General Porter, one of the delegates of the United States, was ultimately adopted: 'That force shall not be used for

the collection of contractual debts until the justice of the claim shall have been affirmed by an arbitral tribunal.'

We have referred to the third Pan-American Congress. The first of these congresses was held at Washington in 1889, the second at Mexico City in 1901, the third at Rio de Janeiro in 1906. The meetings have hitherto been prolific of much complimentary speaking; and controversial topics have, so far as possible, been avoided. The fourth congress, quite recently held at Buenos Ayres, has followed on similar lines. Its most significant feature was the rejection, by the delegations of all the Spanish-American States, of the proposal, made by Brazil, that the Monroe doctrine should be accepted as the basis of Pan-Americanism. Still, these gatherings have not proved unfruitful. On the contrary, they have issued in a clearer understanding between the various States represented on many matters of common interest, such as treaties of arbitration, improvement of communications, and others of less importance. One of the most practical results has been the establishment of the International Bureau of American Republics at Washington, which carries out much valuable work. Another, which at present can scarcely be called practical, but which will probably some day be accomplished, is the project of a Pan-American Railway from New York to Buenos Ayres. This would not merely link together the various States and open up commercial intercourse between them, but, passing as it would right down the Andean backbone of the Continent, it would intersect and make connexions with a whole series of transversal lines leading to either ocean, and would thus afford ready access to that vast interior with all its unbounded agricultural, pastoral and mineral riches, as yet almost untouched, and partly unexplored.

But it is time to pass from the general to the particular treatment of our subject. It is well known that in the last two decades a great change for the better has taken place in the political and financial stability and the commercial prosperity of several of the leading Latin American States. It is a change which may possibly have a profound and permanent effect upon the future of Latin America; and we now propose to trace briefly what have been the causes and the character of this

improved state of affairs, in the cases specially of Mexico, Argentina, Chile, Brazil and Peru.

Mexico, the seat in colonial times of the Viceroyalty of New Spain, has always held a position apart from the South American States, and it does so still. It differs from them now in its close proximity to the United States, with which its northern frontier marches from ocean to ocean, and in the intercourse which such proximity implies. One result of having a neighbour so powerful and expansive as the United States has been the loss to Mexico through the war of 1847 of the provinces of Texas, California and New Mexico, so that the modern State has been shorn of a considerable part of the territory once ruled by the Viceroys. Since the part taken by the American Government in bringing to an end the French occupation in 1867, the relations between the two republics have gradually improved, and are now of the friendliest character.

The position of Mexico in the world to-day is generally regarded as an example of what may be achieved in Latin America by good government. The history of Mexico down to the year 1876 in no wise differs from that of the most turbulent and revolutionary of the Spanish republics of the southern continent. It has been calculated that during that stormy and anarchical period the number of *pronunciamientos* exceeded 300. Such a condition of things meant financial chaos and absolute ruin to the country's credit and progress. Salvation came when at last, in 1884, the supreme authority in the State fell into the hands of General Porfirio Diaz, who has since retained it. As we devoted an article, in October last, to his life and work, we need now mention only the leading features of his career.

Two great tasks confronted Diaz after bringing about the pacification of the country—the re-organisation of the finances, and the bettering of the means of communication. To both he devoted all his energies. In 1886 an arrangement was made with the foreign creditors of the State; in 1893, for the first time, the income exceeded the out-goings. Since 1895 there has been each year a budget surplus; the credit of Mexico now stands high; and foreign loans for the carrying-out of public works can be raised easily and on advantageous terms. That

this has been possible has been the result of the rapid extension of railways. Diaz saw at once that the future of Mexico's trade and development lay in opening up direct communication with the United States. He lost no time in pressing forward the construction of the lines connecting the City of Mexico with El Paso and Laredo on the American frontier. Under his auspices a series of other great works has been carried out. The construction of a railway across the Tehuantepec peninsula is of great importance, as it affords an easy transit between two oceans. The harbour of Vera Cruz has been made secure, commodious and thoroughly up to date; and other harbours, notably those on the Tehuantepec railway, have been greatly improved. That the republic now contains about 14,000 miles of railroad is mainly due to the President's initiative.

The population of Mexico does not exceed 15,000,000, of whom probably not more than 10 per cent. are of pure white origin, and 40 per cent. native Indian in various stages of civilisation. This means only an average of twenty inhabitants to the square mile. There is, however, little immigration; and it will be long before so mixed a population can develop into a unified and progressive nation. Fortunately here, as in Spanish America generally, the colour line does not exist, the number of people of mixed blood being about one-half of the whole and the races freely intermingling. The proximity to the United States makes 'American' influence predominant, but the resident 'Americans' are mainly men of business, not settlers. The British colony is small, but the British share of the trade comes next to that of the United States, though the Germans are making rapid progress, and their imports exceed slightly those from Great Britain.

Of the future of Mexico there would be no doubt, could it remain indefinitely under its present wise and stable government. That government, however, centres in the personality of the President, and he is an octogenarian. No one knows what will happen when, in the course of nature, his strong hand is removed from the helm of state. But he has trained many able administrators; and it is to be hoped that he has made provision for the succession to the power he has so long wielded, and that the people and their leaders in the future may be wise enough to see

that any recurrence of civil strife and disturbance would not merely check the development of the country, but would infallibly invite the interference of the United States. The growth of a strong and prosperous Mexican nation under whose protection or hegemony the Central American republics might be federated into a single State, with Guatemala as its capital, would be a permanent factor for good in the interests alike of the North American continent and of human civilisation.

The material advance of Argentina in the last quarter of a century has been even more marked than that of Mexico, and it has been different in character. For centuries, under Spanish rule, Argentina was neglected. It was not a gold-producing land, like Mexico and Peru; and the Spaniard cared nought for agriculture. Despite the magnificent position of Buenos Ayres on the great estuary of the river Plate, a few weeks' sail across the Atlantic, no traffic was allowed between that natural outlet for South American commerce and the mother-country. All trade had to pass across the Andes to Lima, was shipped from Callao to Panama, and then carried across the Isthmus to be transhipped for conveyance to Cadiz and Seville—a suicidal policy which, but for the extensive contraband trade carried on by the English and Dutch, must have caused the utter ruin of the colony. Indeed, it is doubtful whether such steps as were taken by the Council of the Indies for the protection and development of the Spanish possessions on the river Plate and its tributaries were not due rather to fear of Portuguese aggression from the side of Brazil during the eighteenth century than to any real interest in the prosperity of Argentina.

It is not surprising that the Argentinos, thus treated, should have been the first of the Spanish colonies to raise the standard of revolt; nor is it surprising that a people, which had for centuries suffered such disabilities, should have failed for some time to make the best use of its independence, when acquired. The story of the Argentine Republic during the first half-century of its existence is an unhappy one—a story of discord, tyranny and strife. First in 1868, under the presidency of Dr Sarmiento, did the new era of prosperity and settled

government begin to dawn in Argentina. But an attempt to advance too quickly was to meet, two decades later, with disaster. Reckless public expenditure necessitating large foreign loans, wasteful administration and financial dishonesty, culminated in the crisis of 1889 and the failure of the State to meet its obligations. The enormous natural resources of the country, and the fact that a considerable part of its indebtedness was due to expenditure upon railroads, docks, and other public works, destined to be remunerative, enabled the Argentine Government, however, within a few years to re-establish its public credit. The lesson had been learnt; and, under a succession of capable and statesmanlike presidents, a policy steadily directed to promote by every means the agricultural and pastoral development of the country has been attended by extraordinary success. The one danger that menaced the advancing prosperity of the land was the threatening prospect of war with Chile over the disputed Andine boundary. At the close of the nineteenth century, both republics were spending large sums upon armaments; and again and again an outbreak of hostilities seemed inevitable, public opinion both in Argentina and Chile being intensely excited over the question. Fortunately the calm good sense of the president, General Julio Roca, a man of great and deserved influence, succeeded in securing the reference of the dispute to the arbitration of King Edward VII, whose award in 1904 was amicably accepted by both parties. Since this time the progress of Argentina has been unimpeded, and has indeed been so wonderfully rapid as to rivet the attention of the world.

The area of Argentina is enormous, exceeding 1,200,000 square miles, and by far the larger part of it consists of flat alluvial land, the Pampas, of great fertility, lying within the temperate zone. In the north and north-east are tropical forests, in the extreme west the Cordilleras of the Andes, in the southern part of Patagonia and in Tierra del Fuego a cold and inhospitable region of snow and ice. But the whole of the central portion of the country possesses a rich pasturage which renders it almost ideal for the purposes of stock-raising; and immense tracts of virgin soil (104,300,000 hectares, it is said) are eminently suitable for agriculture. The potential

wealth of the land is therefore almost immeasurable; but it is only in recent years that the opening-out of means of communication, and the more settled and stable political condition of the republic, have revealed in some measure its resources and possibilities.

Argentina owes its present prosperity to two causes—the assistance of foreign capital and the influx of foreign immigration. Of the foreign capital invested in the country the great bulk is British. It is stated by Mr Hirst that in 1908 the total amount of British investments in Argentine undertakings reached the enormous aggregate of 175,346,566*l.*, of which 137,845,000*l.* was sunk in railways, 8,580,000*l.* in banks, 8,010,000*l.* in tramways, and 20,000*l.* in other public works. The French, who have constructed the fine docks at Buenos Ayres and other harbours, and have a certain interest in the railways, have invested 21,621,000*l.*; the Germans follow with 12,000,000*l.* chiefly invested in banks and tramways. The splendid network of railways—approximately 16,000 miles are now open for traffic—has given easy access from all parts of the Republic to Buenos Ayres, Rosario and other river ports, and has been the main cause of the extraordinary agricultural development of the country. Of these railways fully three-fourths are the property of British companies, and are managed and worked by British officials. The completion, in the spring of 1910, of the tunnel piercing the Andes and connecting the Argentine with the Chilian railway system, a magnificent piece of engineering carried out by a British firm, has placed Buenos Ayres in direct communication with Santiago and Valparaiso, and cannot fail to give a further stimulus to the trade of the country. Of that trade, though severely pressed by rivals and competitors, Great Britain retains a very considerable share. According to Mr Hirst, the proportions in 1908 were:—Great Britain, imports 34·2 per cent., exports 21·4 per cent.; Germany, imports 13·9 per cent., exports 9·5 per cent.; United States, imports 13·2 per cent., exports 3·6 per cent.

The second great cause for Argentina's phenomenal prosperity lies in the steadiness of the European immigration which flows to her shores. In this respect the Argentine, with the possible exception of Southern Brazil, has no rival among South American republics.

The character and climatic conditions of the country have made it attractive to the white settler, especially since the unoccupied lands of the illimitable Pampas have been made accessible by railroad extension. But immigration is no new thing. It has been calculated that during the thirty-four years from 1857 to 1890 a total of 1,264,000 persons, of whom 60 per cent. were Italians, 17 per cent. Spanish, 10 per cent. French and 2 per cent. English, were incorporated in the population of the Republic. Of late years the average annual number of immigrants has been rather more than a quarter of a million, of whom about one-half have been Italians, while the number of Spaniards (chiefly Gallegos), a very valuable element, has been increasing. The Italians are mainly settled in Buenos Ayres, where they form the bulk of the labouring population.

There is thus in this Republic all the material for the building-up of a great Latin nation, retaining all the marked characteristics of Spanish manners and civilisation, which will, in the course of the century, take the lead in guiding the destinies of South America. Many years, no doubt, will pass before the fusion of Ligurian and Gallician immigrants with the Spanish Creole and the half-caste and native population of the cattle ranches and Pampas becomes complete; but there is here, as throughout South America, no colour line, and the negro element is fortunately absent. There is little probability that British or German agriculturists will settle as farmers or cattle-breeders in the interior in any large numbers. Banks, railways, shipping, trade generally will remain largely in British and German hands, or under British and German control and direction; but this does not imply that either Anglo-Saxon or Teutonic business men and employes will make the country, whose wealth they exploit, their permanent home. They do not as a rule become Argentinos.

Chile, from its singular geographical configuration, is unlike any other country in the world, and differs widely in almost every respect from Argentina. With a seaboard extending along the Pacific shore for well-nigh three thousand miles and with an average width of about seventy miles, this elongated and narrow ribbon

of territory has the further peculiarity that for the whole of its length it is shut out by the almost impassable wall of the Andes from communication with the interior of the Continent. There is thus to be found in Chile every variety of climate and of temperature, from the torrid deserts of Tarapacá, Tacna and Arica in the north, to the storm-swept Antarctic region of the Straits of Magellan in the south. The northern tropical zone is practically desert, but it is the most valuable portion of the whole territory, for it includes the rich nitrate fields conquered from Peru and Bolivia in the war of 1879-84. The middle or temperate zone, containing the capital, Santiago, and the chief port, Valparaiso, may be said to enjoy one of the most delightful climates in the world; and the great central longitudinal valley lying between the eastern and western Cordilleras of the Andes here offers an immense field for highly profitable agricultural development and for stock-raising. Further south, despite the chilly rains, sheep-farming is successfully carried on; and there remains an almost illimitable extent of forest for the lumberer and of pasture for cattle and sheep, still unoccupied and much of it unexplored. The whole country is rich in metal ore, gold, silver and, above all, copper. Coal in certain districts of the provinces of Concepcion and Arauco is plentiful and of good quality.

The shape of Chile appears at first sight to render it unsuitable for the home of a united people with a strong sense of national unity and of patriotic pride. On the contrary, these are the qualities which distinguish the Chilians among other South American peoples. Its geographical position has, however, dictated that this long strip of land, cut off by deserts on the north, by the Andes on the east, from communication by land with its neighbours, and only approachable by sea from Europe after a long and trying voyage of many thousands of miles round by Cape Horn or through the Straits of Magellan, should be a national entity. There has been something about it of the nature of insularity; and this characteristic has shown itself in the predilection of the Chilians, the English of South America, as they have been called, for the sea. It was their navy which, under the English Admiral, Lord Cochrane, decided the issue of

the war of independence; and it was by their naval superiority that they were enabled to crush Peru and Bolivia in the war of 1879-84.

The population of Chile does not differ from that of the other Spanish republics in being an admixture of races; but the elements of which it is composed are virile, strong of purpose and self-controlled, as history proves. The Araucanian Indians, the original inhabitants of the land, alone of the native tribes of South America, by their bravery and tenacity, held their own for long against the Spanish *conquistadores*, and were never thoroughly subdued. Their blood, in various degrees of admixture, is to be found in the great bulk of the population of the country; and the Chilian *roto* (Hispano-Araucanian) is a strong and capable labourer, while his redoubtable military qualities show that he has lost none of the prowess of his ancestry. The small minority of pure white descent here, perhaps even more completely than in the rest of Latin America, form the ruling caste; and a group of families chiefly resident at Santiago have from the first held the reins of power securely and continuously in their own hands. The temperate climate, and perhaps the long-sustained struggle of the Araucanians to resist their supremacy in the earlier centuries, have made the Spanish Creoles of central Chile more vigorous in type and in stability of character than elsewhere. The consequence has been that the republic has been more free than any other of the Spanish American States from revolutionary outbreaks or military dictatorships. Its constitution has been practically unchanged since 1833; and it has never failed to meet its financial obligations, even during the stress of the Peruvian war. The issue of that war, by placing in the hands of Chile the great nitrate-fields of Tarapacá and Atacama, has enormously improved its credit, the revenue derived from this source being automatically very large; so that, despite the very large and wise expenditure of the Government on railway extensions, on docks, tramways, and other enterprises and investments for the development of the country, the budget is always able to show a large excess of revenue over expenditure.

The Chilians have always been well disposed towards England; and there is no South American republic

where the Englishman meets with a more friendly reception. England has indeed a very large stake in the prosperity of Chile. A vast amount of British capital is invested in the nitrate fields. The *oficinas*, the railroads, the steamships in this district are nearly all British. Probably the investments sunk in these enterprises do not amount to less than 30,000,000*l.*; and the number of Englishmen employed in the administrative staffs at the various centres is considerable. There are also about three thousand English inhabitants in Valparaíso, where the principal banks and insurance offices, and a very large percentage of the shipping, are in British hands. Many English are to be found also at Santiago and Concepción. Of late years, however, the Germans have been making great progress, and are, as usual, much more energetic than the British in their trade methods. For some sixty years a German colony has been established at Valdivia, the most important port* of southern Chile; and it forms to-day a well-organised and flourishing community. The German settler is, however, far from popular in Chile. He has succeeded in making Valdivia a thriving commercial centre, and with that he is satisfied. He apparently does not trouble himself to cultivate friendly relations either with the Chilians or with other foreign settlers and traders; indeed it is asserted that he does not scruple to show his antipathy to them; and he, in his turn, as is not unnatural, is disliked accordingly.

Chile already has 2850 miles of railroad in working order, and is rapidly proceeding with further construction. The trans-continental route to Buenos Ayres has, as already stated, been just opened for traffic. Another line from the port of Antofagasta has been carried to Oruro in Bolivia, with the special object of giving Bolivian commerce access to the sea. Antofagasta was once Bolivian; and Chile has consented to open out this route with special concessions in order to heal the sore left by her harsh interpretation of the terms of the treaty under which she retained possession of this port after the war in 1884. By this line a junction will, in course

* Strictly speaking the port is Corral, Valdivia being twelve miles up the river of the same name.

of time, be made at La Paz with the Argentine system, and will form another trans-continental route, passing from La Paz through Jujuy to Buenos Ayres. Even more important for a country like Chile than trans-Andine communications is the need of a longitudinal railway down the great central valley, to bind together the various provinces of the ribbon-like strip of territory. Already considerable portions of it have been built. One can travel southwards from Valparaiso and Santiago past Valdivia to Osorno. A contract has already been made with an English firm for the construction of a further section of the longitudinal railway northwards for a length of 370 miles, at an estimated cost of 4,250,000*l*. This important link, passing through La Serena and Copiapo, will finally effect a junction with the Antofagasto-Bolivian railway. The lines in northern Chile are mainly British, including the last-named; the others are State railways.

The dispute with Peru about the retention of the provinces of Tacna and Arica still remains a burning question. By Art. 3 of the treaty of peace signed on May 8, 1884, it was agreed that these provinces were to remain under Chilian control for ten years, after which the inhabitants should by a plébiscite decide what should be their future nationality. It was further agreed that the State which lost the sovereignty was to receive an indemnity of \$10,000,000. The discovery, however, of fresh nitrate-fields has rendered the provinces so valuable that Chile has up to the present time declined to execute the terms of the treaty, despite the protests of Peru; and there can be little doubt that she has no intention of surrendering this rich possession, save under compulsion. Nothing, however, could be more disastrous for Peru, only slowly recovering from the results of her defeat at the hands of Chile thirty years ago, than another contest with her warlike neighbour. It is to the interest of both republics to arrive at a good understanding; and this can only be done by Peru bowing to the inevitable by a recognition of Chile's sovereignty as a *fait accompli*, and by Chile offering a reasonable compensation.

Such a settlement should, in fact, be welcomed by the statesmen who control the destinies of Peru, for the

progress of that republic since the conclusion of the war has been one of steady recuperation. There has been increasing stability in the government; and the financial administration has been marked by prudence and success. The country now meets its obligations, and its credit is sound and improving. What Peru needs is the maintenance of peace within and without its borders for the development of the immense potential resources of a territory sufficiently extensive to satisfy its ambitions and occupy its energies for many years to come. At present there may be said to be no immigration into Peru; but, with the opening of the Panama Canal, the distances from London, New York and Hamburg to Lima will be so enormously reduced that no one can predict to what extent the flow of European settlers and capital may not be directed to this promising country. It is a land of untold wealth in gold, silver and other metals, a land possessing in its three zones—the coast, the Andean, and the Amazonian—every variety of soil for cultivation, wide pastures for stock, and vast forests rich in rubber.

Of these three regions, the coast zone, varying from twenty to one hundred and fifty miles in width up to the foothills of the Andes, is torrid and practically desert. No rain ever falls, but there are heavy dews; and, where irrigation is carried out, cotton, sugar-cane and vineyards flourish. In the fine city of Lima and its port Callao, and to a less extent in the other towns along the coast, the white population is almost entirely to be found. The Andean zone consists of lofty valleys and plateaus lying between the two (or at times three) parallel cordilleras of the Andes. These valleys and plateaus are many of them highly fertile and capable of giving nourishment to innumerable cattle, horses and sheep. But their extraordinary elevation above the sea-level makes these valleys unsuitable for European colonists. There are also at present in this elevated region no good roads. These valleys were once the seat of the Incas empire; and to this day their condition, except for the decrease in population and of facilities for intercourse, remains little altered after the many centuries of Spanish dominion. The inhabitants are largely Indian, descendants of the old Quechuas and Aymaras of the days of Pizarro, or *cholos*, i.e. Indians with some admixture of Spanish blood. To

the east of the Andes lies the Amazonian *montaña*, i.e. forest region. This is by far the largest of the three zones in area, but is practically uninhabited, save along the river banks by a few savage Indian tribes. The tropical forests are very unhealthy; and the only white men or half-breeds who venture to risk their lives in these fever-stricken solitudes are the climate-hardened *caucheros*, who, as their name proclaims, obtain a perilous but profitable livelihood by collecting the rubber, which is indigenous in the *montaña*, and plentiful. This portion of Peruvian territory is cut off from the rest by the giant chain of the eastern or White Cordillera. Almost all parts of it are, however, accessible to small ships and steamers, since the great arms of the Amazon by which it is traversed contain some 20,000 miles of navigable water.

Peru, with its 438,000 square miles of territory, possesses as yet less than 1000 miles of railways. These, however, include two Andean lines, which are undoubtedly the most wonderful and daring mountain railways in the whole world, veritable triumphs of engineering skill. The Oroya line, starting from Lima, crosses the Andes at an altitude of 15,642 feet, and has its terminus on a navigable affluent of the Ucayali, a tributary of the Amazon. By this route it is thus possible to travel by railroad and steamer from Callao, the port of Lima, to Pará on the Atlantic. The other line, starting from the more southern port of Mollendo, after crossing the Cordillera by a pass 14,666 feet above sea-level, places the lofty and hydrographically self-contained basin of the great lake Titicaca, once a centre of the Inca civilisation, in direct communication with the coast. The southern end of this basin is Bolivian; and the lake is an important outlet for Bolivian trade. These two transversal routes will no doubt, as soon as Peru can dare to venture on so great an undertaking, be united by a longitudinal line which, starting from Oroya, will gradually make its way along the central Andean valleys and plateaus to Cuzco, and then along the shores of Lake Titicaca to La Paz, the capital of Bolivia. Should this ever be accomplished, Lima will be placed in direct railway communication with Buenos Ayres; the great pastoral and agricultural areas in the Andean zone will be linked together and be able to find markets for their

produce; and the project of a Pan-American Railway will have been brought much nearer to realisation.

Of the other Spanish republics no detailed account can be given here. With the single exception of the smallest among them, Uruguay, they are all in a much more backward condition than Peru; but signs are not wanting that the example of what has already been achieved in Mexico, Argentina and Chile has not been wholly thrown away; and there is, moreover, a wholesome and growing apprehension that there are eventualities in which the Monroe doctrine will be interpreted as signifying that protection and coercion are correlative duties which must go hand in hand. This is particularly the case with regard to the group of republics which lie nearest to the Panama Canal, and whose condition is the most unsatisfactory of all. While Ecuador and the inland States, Bolivia and Paraguay, are making sure, if slow, progress, bad government has hitherto been the ruin of Venezuela and Colombia.

Under the late President Castro, Venezuela became almost a byword for financial untrustworthiness and high-handed breaches of faith. It is to be hoped that, with his departure, brighter prospects may be in store for the country. The new Government has at least shown itself anxious to conciliate the public opinion of foreign nations, which the acts of the dictator had not merely alienated but defied. In Colombia, still suffering from the terrible loss of life and destruction of property in the last civil war (1898-1903), enterprise practically does not exist, though in mineral wealth the country is one of the richest in the world, and it possesses an abundance of fertile land. The Government is retrograde and narrow, whatever party be in power. There is a marked jealousy of foreigners; and every obstacle is placed in the way of enterprises financed by foreign capital. The conduct of the negotiations with the United States in the matter of the concessions concerning the zone of territory through which the Isthmian Canal is to pass was so impracticable and wrong-headed as almost to justify the steps which led to the recognition by the United States of the independence of the republic of Panama. In any case, the Colombians, by their refusal

to ratify the Hay-Herran treaty, deprived themselves of a cash indemnity of £2,000,000, and a subsequent annuity of £50,000, which would have done much to rehabilitate their bankrupt finances.

The largest of all the Latin American States has been left to the last for separate treatment, since in its traditions, language and history it is Portuguese and not Spanish. Brazil is now a republic, but it differs from the sister-republics in its antecedents. Rio de Janeiro was the residence of a royal court for more than eighty years; and from the time of the declaration of independence in 1821 until the revolution of 1889 the form of government was a constitutional monarchy, which has left permanent traces upon the social and political institutions of the country. The long reign of Pedro II covered half a century of quiet and ordered progress; and the empire of Brazil was in a large measure spared those troubled and bloodstained decades of internal dissension and unrest, through which it was the sad lot of all the Spanish republics in a greater or less degree to pass. The comparative freedom of Brazil from the disease of sporadic revolution, which affected its neighbours, is the more remarkable as the enormous area of the country seemed to invite separatist tendencies. That the United States of Brazil still form one federated republic under a central government ought justly to be attributed to the wise statesmanship and moderation so long displayed by the sovereign who was dethroned and exiled in 1889. The abolition of slavery brought about the abolition of monarchy, though such an event on South American soil was perhaps sooner or later inevitable. It has really effected little change, except that the executive powers of the elected president are greater than those that were possessed by the constitutional monarch.

Brazil occupies something like half the entire South American continent, covering approximately 3,290,000 square miles. A large part of the interior of this vast area is only partially explored, and is uninhabited save by wandering tribes of savage or half-savage Indians. The Atlantic coast-line, more than 3600 miles in length, possesses a series of splendid natural harbours. Of these, the city of Belem (or Pará), San Salvador (or Bahia) Pernambuco (or Recife), Rio de Janeiro, Santos and Porto

Alegre, have been in recent years, or are now being, fitted with fine docks and all the other requisites for first-rate ports. In a country of such extent the twelve thousand miles of railroad already built, and the two thousand under construction, still leave the whole of the far interior practically unprovided with facilities for land-transport. Fortunately there is no part of the earth's surface so lavishly provided with magnificent navigable rivers, penetrating to every part of the land. The Amazon and its great tributaries form a network of waterways unique in the world, since ocean-going liners can make their way up the main stream to Iquitos, more than 3000 miles inland, while for steamers of a lighter draught it is probably far within the mark to say that navigation on the Amazonian system is possible for ten times that distance within the borders of Brazil. Nor is this all. There are many other fine rivers south of the Amazon, notably the Tocantins and the San Francisco, which are important avenues of communication; and access to the La Plata is afforded by the Paraguay and the Parana from the southern parts of the great inland provinces of Matto Grosso and Goyaz.

Before the expansion of the rubber industry and the creation by British capital and enterprise of the port of Manáos, at the point of junction of the Upper Amazon with its great affluent, the Rio Negro, some forty or fifty years ago, it is not too much to say that the number of civilised settlements in equatorial Amazonia was far smaller than it was a century earlier. Even at this day the Rio Negro, a river second only in volume to the Upper Amazon itself, with innumerable tributaries, by one of which there is communication with the Upper Orinoco, passes through large districts still unoccupied and practically unknown. The southern part of Amazonia, including the valuable territory of Acre, acquired in 1903 by agreement with Bolivia, contains vast tropical forests in which rubber-producing trees are indigenous. The rubber industry is for Brazil, what the nitrate fields are for Chile, one of the main sources of revenue of the State; and there is every prospect that, with the increasing demand of the world for rubber, this branch of commerce will go on rapidly expanding.

The area of Brazil bespeaks a great variety of climate;
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and almost every province, as one proceeds southward from the mouth of the Amazon, differs in the character of its produce. Tobacco and cotton are flourishing and improving industries. That of sugar, at one time more important than either, is now on the decline, for the sugar produced from cane, here as in the West Indies, is unable to obtain remunerative prices in the face of the large consumption of beet-sugar. It is chiefly grown now for the home market. Coffee is, however, the great commodity, for the supply of which even more than for rubber, Brazil holds the first place in the world's markets. The three principal coffee-growing States are São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Minas Geraes; but there are many other districts where it is grown. More than three-quarters of the whole world's supply of coffee is furnished by Brazil; but over-production has brought about a fall in prices, and already the area under cultivation is being diminished. The chief port for the exportation of coffee is Santos, which is one of the finest harbours in the country, and the avenue through which many thousands of immigrants are year by year making their way to the coffee plantations of São Paulo or the great cattle-raising prairies of Rio Grande do Sul.

It is in this southern part of the country that the climatic conditions are most favourable for European settlement; and the number of Italians and Germans who have made a home there is large and growing larger. In his work, 'Through Five Republics,' Mr Percy F. Martin estimates the population of Brazil in 1905 as about 15,000,000. Since that date there has been a large immigration; but in the absence of any scientific census, all estimates are problematical. What is certain is that in the city of São Paulo, containing 300,000 inhabitants, more than half are Italians and Germans; and that the State of Santa Catarina in Rio Grande do Sul has practically become a German colony. The large bodies of Italians who settle in Brazil are speedily absorbed, and become, in the course of a few years, Portuguese in language and manners. The Germans, however, in the agricultural and pastoral districts of the temperate south, retain their national tongue and characteristics and form a Teutonic enclave in the midst of Latin surroundings.

The control of the executive in Brazil, since the aboli-

tion of the monarchy, has remained, as in the Spanish republics, in the hands of a small governing caste, the bulk of the population being apathetic, and the elections to a large extent a mere form. How long such a state of things will last, in the face of the growing number of foreign immigrants pouring into the country, it is difficult to say. Much will depend upon the character of the administration. At present the condition of Brazil is one of steady progress and development. The statesmen in possession of power are capable and intelligent, and its financial credit is satisfactory. But the holding together of so vast an empire, with its scattered population made up of such diverse elements, and the opening of the great inland districts, with their vast natural resources and stores of mineral wealth, to commerce and to settlement, is, and will be, no light task. Should it be successfully accomplished, Brazil cannot fail one day to take its place among the great Powers of the world.

In Brazil, as in Argentina, Chile, Peru and Uruguay, the investments of British capital in railways, public works, banks and other enterprises are enormous; and a very considerable portion of the entire trade of the country is in British hands. South America is, speaking generally, not to be recommended to the British agricultural emigrant, unless he possesses capital; and even then, if he followed good advice, it would be far better for him to make his new home in some land beneath the British flag. To him the surroundings of life in one of the Latin republics of South America are uncongenial and alien. The distinctive stamp of Iberian civilisation is indelibly imprinted on the southern continent of America; and it is here that the emigrant from the shores of the Mediterranean finds his most suitable abiding-place, where he can settle and quickly make himself at home. But British influence and British trade, despite the strenuous efforts of rivals, are still paramount in South America. It has not been forgotten that it was in no small degree by the help of British sympathy and British volunteers that the independence of the South American republics a century ago was won. What is perhaps even more important, it was under the ægis of the all-powerful British navy that independence was maintained in the days when it was threatened by

the combined forces of the Holy Alliance; for it was no secret that the Monroe doctrine, for many years after it was first put forward, really meant that a European aggressor would find his way to the shores of the American continent barred by the British fleet. Everywhere in South America the Englishman is trusted and is welcomed; and, if in the future he finds himself ousted from the predominant position he has hitherto held in South American trade, it will be through his own fault.

The nearness of the United States of America ensures to the great republic of the north a large share of the trade with Mexico, and to a less degree with the other countries of Latin America. Nevertheless, it is a remarkable fact that very few citizens of the United States are to be found south of the isthmus of Panama. The South American republics have from time to time shown a readiness to shelter themselves, in their difficulties with European creditors, behind the Monroe doctrine; and eloquent orations filled with expressions of brotherhood and friendliness have marked the opening and the close of Pan-American Congresses. But at bottom there is no love lost between the Latin republics and the United States. The ideals of the North and South are not merely dissimilar, but antagonistic. The hegemony implied by the Monroe doctrine, even if not openly asserted, is, as we have already pointed out, resented in South America. Many things are possible in that vast and varied quarter of the world; and the present century will undoubtedly witness there a process of growth and evolution the precise form of which cannot be at present with clearness foreseen; but it may be predicted with certainty that Latin America will never without an obstinate struggle consent to become in any sense a political appendage of the United States.

Art. 8.—COPYRIGHT LAW REFORM.

1. *A Bill to Amend and Consolidate the Law relating to Copyright.* London: Wyman, 1910.
2. *Memorandum of the Proceedings at the Imperial Copyright Conference, 1910.* London: Wyman, 1910.
3. *Report of the Committee on the Law of Copyright.* London: Wyman, 1909; and *Minutes of Evidence, with Appendix.* London: Wyman, 1910.
4. *Correspondence respecting the Revised Convention of Berne for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works.* London: Wyman, 1909.

THE introduction by the President of the Board of Trade of a Bill to amend and codify the law relating to copyright is the latest of a series of important events to which the general public has given little heed. The Berne Copyright Convention (1887), to which almost all the leading countries of the world, except the United States, are parties,* was revised at an International Conference held at Berlin, under the auspices of the German Government, in October and November 1908. The revised Convention was exhaustively examined in 1909 from the point of view of the United Kingdom by a strong Departmental Committee, of which Lord Gorell was Chairman. Finally, the methods of securing the co-operation of the whole Empire, in a renewed effort to reform the Copyright Law, were discussed, with the revised Convention as a text, at a conference with representatives of the self-governing Dominions and India, under the presidency of Mr Sydney Buxton, in May and June of the present year. These preliminary investigations have made incontestable the urgent necessity of reforming the British Copyright Law for at least three separate reasons: first, on account of its inherent defects; secondly, in order to place the copyright legislation of the Empire on a stable foundation; and thirdly, for the sake of enabling the revised Convention to be ratified, in accordance with the emphatic recommendation both of

* The members of the Convention are now: Belgium, the British Empire, Denmark, France, Germany, Hayti, Italy, Japan, Liberia, Luxemburg, Monaco, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and Tunis. There is reason to hope that Holland will soon join the Convention.

the Copyright Committee and of the Imperial Copyright Conference.

Copyright law reform has received a great deal of attention on the continent of Europe during the last thirty years, and has been pressed in various ways upon the notice of the practical legislator. France has led the way. Curiously enough, her own copyright law consists mainly of a vague and almost crude enactment dating from 1793; but the generous interpretation which it has received has placed France in the forefront of the nations in most questions affecting authors' rights. Other nations, lacking perhaps the French genius for generalisation, have worked out elaborate codes of copyright law, revising them from time to time, but always to the author's advantage, under the impulse of modern thought. The result is that, with the exception of Great Britain, all the countries of Europe which make any pretence to advanced civilisation have conferred upon authors the inestimable boon of a copyright law imbued with modern tendencies. Nor has this advance been confined to Europe. Japan has progressed very rapidly in the same direction; the Spanish States of South America have followed the example of their mother-country; and in the early part of last year the United States adopted a new code which, though open to serious objection in some of its details, is yet in the main an enlightened and liberal measure.

The Berne Copyright Convention of 1887 was the first important manifestation of the growing tendency towards the fuller recognition of the author's rights, not only in his own country, but in all countries. At the time it was a novel and daring venture. There were numerous copyright treaties in existence, but there was nothing on so ambitious a scale as the Convention, embracing, as it did, nine different countries. Its fundamental principle was that each signatory should treat the subjects of other members of the Union in the same way as it treated its own subjects. To give this principle coherence and to secure a proper measure of reciprocity, there was also laid down, in certain important matters, a definite minimum of protection which every member of the Union should be bound to grant.

The provisions of the Convention could not be other than a compromise. The necessity for unanimity made

it inevitable that many important elements of an author's rights should be left obscure, or even definitely restricted; at the best they were placed within the discretion of the contracting parties. The framers of the Convention, however, held fast to the principle that what was guaranteed was only a minimum of protection; there was to be no obstacle to the grant of more extensive rights. This principle found definite expression in the provision that periodical conferences should be held for the revision of the Convention.

The first of these conferences was held in Paris in 1896. The time was not ripe for sweeping alterations in the Convention; England, in particular, was unable to agree to any changes but such as were of comparatively little moment. Certain amendments, however, some of considerable importance, were found to be practicable, and, in the absence of complete unanimity, instead of being incorporated in the Convention itself, were embodied in an additional Act and an Interpretative Declaration, the latter of which was not accepted by the United Kingdom.

The ten years which succeeded 1896 witnessed a great advance. The old Convention, which in its origin marked the utmost limits of concession and was indeed almost in advance of public opinion, was definitely overtopped by the wave of progress which it had itself been very largely instrumental in raising. Its provisions were generally felt to be unduly restrictive of the author's rights. France, Germany, Italy and Belgium entered into a series of copyright treaties with one another, granting reciprocal privileges more in accordance with the enlightened legislation of those countries. A revision of the old Convention became inevitable, and was carried out by the Conference of Berlin in 1908, not without considerable concessions to weaker brethren, but on the whole with remarkable liberality. The labours of the Conference resulted in the preparation of a single amended text; this was signed on behalf of all the members of the Union, and, when ratified, takes the place of the three documents by which these countries are now bound.

Great Britain had been to all appearance unaffected by the movements which led to this revision. In 1896 she had pursued a policy of obstruction, owing to the

defective state of her copyright law; and, as this law had not been altered for the better, it was naturally feared that she would adhere to the same policy in 1908—a course which might render fruitless the labours of the Conference or might even lead to the disruption of the Union. But the indefinable force of opinion had not been without its effect. The British delegates at Berlin were authorised to make substantial concessions, and affixed their signatures to the revised text. Their action is endorsed by the Copyright Committee.

‘In conclusion’ (says the Report), ‘we desire to express our approval of the Revised Convention as a whole. In our opinion, though containing certain defects and ambiguities imposed by the necessities of International agreement, it marks a very great advance on the original Berne Convention and the Acts of Paris; and we trust it will not be out of place for us, after an exhaustive study of the text, to endorse the action of the British delegates, the late Sir Henry Bergne, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., Mr G. R. Askwith, K.C., C.B., and Count de Salis, C.M.G., in signing the Revised Convention on behalf of this country.’

The decision of the Imperial Copyright Conference is equally emphatic.

‘The Conference’ (says the first of its resolutions) ‘having considered in substance the revised Copyright Convention, recommends that the Convention should be ratified by the Imperial Government on behalf of the various parts of the Empire; and that, with a view to uniformity of International Copyright, any reservations made should be confined to as few points as possible.’

To indicate the bearing of these recommendations on the Copyright Bill, it is sufficient to point out that there is hardly one of the changes made in the revised Convention, certainly no important one, that can be brought into effect in this country without an amendment of the Copyright Law.

The problem of Imperial Copyright is familiar to all who have followed the history of this question; it is probably not too much to say that, were it not for the difficulty arising from the constitution of the Empire, the Copyright Law would have been remodelled long ago. The problem lies on the surface. No fundamental amend-

ment of the Copyright Law can be effected without the repeal of the British Act of 1842, which gives copyright to books throughout the Empire; if, then, this Act is repealed, how is Imperial Copyright to be regulated? England signed the Berne Convention in 1887 on behalf of herself and all her colonies and dependencies; but in giving fuller freedom to the overseas Dominions, there must always be some risk of infringing or impairing the right which the Convention secures. Whatever may have been the case in 1842 or even in 1887, there can be no question to-day that the British Parliament cannot impose its copyright legislation upon the great self-governing Dominions. The alternative is to give the Dominions liberty, more or less complete—and in practice restrictions would not be of much avail—to legislate for themselves; and to some eyes this foreshadows a chaotic medley of conflicting enactments and resultant plundering of the unfortunate British author. Therefore, say the objectors, the only wise course is to do nothing at all.

It may be surmised that such an attitude is too congenial to the official mind to be in danger of receiving less than its proper share of attention; and there is therefore the more reason to point out some obvious objections to this view, which after all imputes to the Dominions rather less than common honesty, or, so far as it does not, represents a merely selfish clinging to advantages gained when the Colonies were in their tutelage. In the first place, this attitude involves an indefinite postponement of reform, at a moment when the necessity for reform is admitted on all hands to be urgent. Further, it exaggerates the advantages of the present system. For instance, British works of art have no copyright at all in the Colonies; and Canada and Australia have complicated enactments of their own superimposed upon, and sometimes conflicting with, Imperial legislation. Above all, it denies the legitimate claim of the Dominions to be allowed to safeguard their own interests in the way that seems to them best. The existing position cannot be indefinitely maintained; the Dominions, formerly content to resist any fresh exercise of control by the British Parliament, may and will, with the growth of national consciousness, demand to be released from the fetters with which they are already bound.

The resolutions of the Imperial Copyright Conference, which must carry great weight in all future attempts to solve this problem, embody an ingenious system which, while leaving to the self-governing Dominions practically complete freedom in copyright legislation, yet offers to them the strongest inducements to adopt the same fundamental principles and to grant reciprocal privileges to the United Kingdom and to one another. The new Copyright Act is to apply in the first instance only to the United Kingdom; all self-governing Dominions which adopt the Act either in its entirety or subject to non-essential modifications, or which pass substantially identical legislation, are to enjoy all the benefits of the Act in their relations with the United Kingdom and with one another; any Dominion which does neither is cut off from the benefits of the Act, unless expressly admitted thereto by Order in Council, which, it may be assumed, would not be issued without assurance of reciprocal advantages. On the other hand, all self-governing Dominions will have unrestricted power to repeal or adopt any legislation affecting copyright within their borders. The resolutions of the Conference on these points are reproduced almost *ipsissimis verbis* in the Copyright Bill; and it is therefore fair to assume that they have received the sanction of the Government.

The inherent defects of the British Copyright Law, its incompleteness, obscurity and complexity, have often been noticed. So long ago as 1878, a Royal Commission called attention to the urgent need for amending the law in many important points, and for consolidating the multifarious statutes that deal with the subject. Nothing has been done to carry out these recommendations, beyond some amendments of detail; and it is characteristic of the haphazard fashion in which these matters are managed that these amendments are contained in no less than four separate statutes. The remarks of the Royal Commissioners of 1878 are even more pertinent to-day than when they were made:

‘The law is wholly destitute of any sort of arrangement, incomplete, often obscure, and, even when it is intelligible upon long study, it is in many parts so ill expressed that

no one who does not give such study to it can expect to understand it.'

The subject is governed by no fewer than twenty-two Acts of Parliament, passed at different times between 1735 and 1906; and to these should be added a mass of Colonial legislation, frequently following blindly the worst precedents of English law, and, where it ventures to deviate, creating a situation which it would tax the keenest intellects to disentangle. The new Copyright Bill* makes a clean sweep of all these enactments and proposes to set up in their place a homogeneous code of Copyright Law, drafted on the whole on sound and generous lines. Apart from the important question of its form, the changes proposed in the subject-matter of the law are very numerous; and all that can be attempted here is to examine a few of the most important.

How long shall copyright last? The existing law on this point labours under two defects. In the first place, it arbitrarily assigns different terms of copyright to various classes of works, for no reason that can be discovered except that these classes are governed by separate statutes, passed at different times. In the second place, it is generally acknowledged that the term of copyright is too short. For books, it is the life of the author and seven years, or forty-two years from publication, whichever period is the longer; and for paintings, drawings and photographs, the life of the author and seven years; while in other cases it falls as low as twenty-eight years.† A sound copyright law will grant a term which is adequate for the protection of the best works of all classes; only the best need be considered, for no others will survive the shortest term of copyright that could reasonably be suggested. On the other hand, it

* An idea has arisen in the public mind, and has been fostered by those who should know better, that copyright is a privilege granted by the public to an author, instead of what it really is—the restriction of a natural right in the interest of the public. The Act of 1842 recognises this right in its preamble, which runs as follows: 'Whereas it is expedient to amend the Law of Copyright, and to afford greater encouragement to the protection of literary works of lasting benefit to the world.' This statement has often been of service in correcting erroneous views; and it is to be hoped that, before the Bill becomes an Act, those words, or others to the same effect, may be prefixed.

† That is, in regard to copyright in engravings and sculptures.

should not differentiate between the various classes ; for who would be so bold as to arbitrate upon the relative merits of art, literature, and the drama ?

The Copyright Bill recognises these facts and proposes for all works a uniform term extending for the life of the author and fifty years after his death. The selection of this term of copyright is avowedly prompted by the revised Copyright Convention, which lays down this term, not as a requirement binding upon all its signatories, but as a 'standard of uniformity'; pending its universal adoption an author can claim to be protected in a foreign country of the Union for so long as he is protected at home, and no longer. From this point of view, therefore, it is obviously desirable that British authors should not have their rights abroad curtailed owing to the comparative shortness of the term in the United Kingdom.

There is another and less obvious reason why the adoption of a term of life and fifty years is of the greatest importance in international relations under the Convention. Under the existing system it has been found that an author attempting to enforce his rights in a foreign country is often seriously hampered by the necessity for justifying his claim, not only according to the law of that country but also according to the law of his own; and any one who has had experience of the difficulties of elucidating the intricacies of our Copyright Law in a British court will appreciate the hardships which this requirement would entail upon a British author in a foreign tribunal. The revised Convention proposes to remove this difficulty by providing that an author's rights shall in all cases be those granted in the country in which his claim is preferred, and no others, thus removing the reference to the author's own country. But the reference thus removed is in danger of being restored by the rule already mentioned that the maximum duration of copyright is to be determined by the law of the author's country. To obviate this danger, and to assure the full operation of the valuable scheme of simplification embodied in the revised Convention, it is essential that a term of life and fifty years be adopted.

It appears that the original proposal laid before the Berlin Conference was to make an author's rights depend

upon the law of the country in which he claims in all respects, including the duration of protection. But it was obvious that this would lead to startling results. For instance, the terms of copyright in France and Germany being for life and fifty years, and life and thirty years, respectively, the works of Wagner would under this rule have been protected in France for twenty years after they had fallen out of copyright in Germany—an intolerable position. The proposal involved too great a breach of reciprocity to be adopted; but, while retaining the old system, whereby an author's copyright abroad ceases as soon as it ceases at home, the framers of the revised Convention sought to pave the way for the practical supersession of this rule by suggesting a uniform international standard. This standard could not be other than life and fifty years. A solid group, consisting of eight members of the Union out of a total of sixteen, had adopted this term; its nearest rival was life and thirty years, adopted by a small group of three; while the remaining countries had regulated this matter each in a way peculiar to itself. Moreover, even outside the Union the suggested standard has a large body of adherents.

The British representatives at Berlin were careful to express their dissociation 'even in principle' from the proposed term of copyright; but it is worthy of consideration whether the circumstances of the United Kingdom are so peculiar that it ought not to fall into line, on this point, with most other civilised nations. The Copyright Committee emphatically recommend that a term of copyright for the life of the author and fifty years after his death be granted. This recommendation is endorsed by the Imperial Copyright Conference on behalf of the Empire; and now the Government have formally given it their countenance by embodying it in the Copyright Bill.

A system under which copyright lasts for the author's life and a certain number of years after his death, rather than for a fixed number of years from the date of publication of each work, is recommended with practical unanimity by all who have studied the question in recent years, and is the system in force in practically every country of the world except the British Empire and the United States. To the objection so eloquently expounded

by Macaulay in 1842, that it rewards the works of an author's mature genius with a shorter period of protection than it gives to the efforts of his youth, it may be replied that Macaulay's generalisation is unsound; an author's best works are by no means always those which he produces in his old age. And even were it otherwise, the arguments in favour of the suggested system appear to be conclusive.

Most reasonable persons will agree that copyright ought not to expire in an author's lifetime, not merely on pecuniary grounds, but because he is morally entitled to the right to protect his work from mutilation. This principle is the basis of a system giving copyright for the author's lifetime; and it may be noted that this object will not be secured in all cases by a term lasting for a fixed number of years from publication, unless the number of years is inordinately great. Similar reasons, based on the right of an author's descendants both to derive pecuniary benefit from his works and to safeguard their reputation, point to the extension of copyright for a number of years, greater or smaller as the case may be, after the author's death.

The suggested system has important practical advantages. Under it, in the first place, all the works of a given author fall out of copyright at the same time; and this prevents the scandal, now unfortunately not unknown, of an early and defective edition of a scientific work or a poem being placed afresh in the market under the author's name, while the later version, which alone the author regarded as the true expression of his view or feelings, is still subject to copyright. Further, this system makes it easy to ascertain whether a work is subject to copyright or not; for obviously, the date of an author's death can be discovered much more readily than the date of publication of a particular work. This point is of increased importance in view of the suggested changes in the requirements of registration, which, however, were never of much assistance to the honest inquirer.

The principle being conceded, it remains to ask; for how many years ought copyright to last after the author's death? The selection of this period must be to some extent an arbitrary one. Theoretical considerations, on the one hand the rights and interests of the public, on

the other the rights and interests of the author's descendants, leave the question undecided within comparatively wide limits; and arguments of convenience must be allowed to point to the actual solution. A proposal to give thirty years has received a certain measure of support in this country. This period was recommended, for instance, by the Royal Commissioners of 1878; and it may probably be regarded as the minimum that could fairly be entertained at the present day. But this period is open to the serious objection that in a large number of cases, as regards books, it would be actually shorter than the existing term of protection; it would, in fact, cut down the copyright of all books published in the last twelve years of an author's life. The interests of the author's heirs would also be seriously affected even as regards earlier books, for, until all an author's works have fallen out of copyright, the owners of the copyright are the only persons who can issue a complete edition. This difficulty may be avoided, it is true, by the selection of a period greater than thirty, but less than fifty years; but this course, while fixing upon a term practically indistinguishable from life and fifty years, would entirely fail to reap the benefits which the latter offers, as already explained, in our relations with foreign countries. A period of fifty years entirely removes the difficulty and secures all the advantages of international uniformity.

It has been suggested that a publisher buying the copyright of a new work would probably give little or nothing for the additional twenty years which represent the difference between thirty and fifty years after the author's death; and that, therefore, in cases where these twenty years turned out to be valuable, the publisher, and not the author, would reap the benefit. In reply to this objection it may be pointed out that nowadays it is the practice of authors not to sell outright the copyright in a work of any importance, but to reserve a royalty; and that the tendency to follow this practice would be immensely strengthened if the length of copyright was fixed on the basis now proposed.

As the interests of the public will no doubt be very frequently invoked in the debates on the Copyright Bill, it may be useful to indicate certain considerations which the self-appointed champions of these interests are some-

times apt to overlook. It is doubtless in the highest degree desirable that the public should be furnished with a cheap and abundant supply of good literature; but does it follow that this cheapness should be attained at the author's expense? No one proposes that the printer or the publisher should sell his work or his books for nothing, or even be deprived of a fair profit. Moreover, to rob the author of a proper remuneration would in the end injure the interests of the public much more than it would advance them; below a certain level of price—a level quite consistent with the existence of copyright—cheapness can only be secured at the expense of quality.

It is quite incorrect to suppose that a copyright work is necessarily a dear work. Prices depend on a variety of considerations, but principally on the extent to which the market will be widened by a given reduction in price. A work of narrow appeal will always be expensive, whether it is subject to copyright or not; on the other hand, the existence of copyright will be no bar, as is proved by everyday experience, to cheap editions of works which may be expected to have a large sale. The so-called monopoly of copyright is controlled by the competition of other works of the same class, and by the still more formidable rivalry of the classics; and it may even conduce to cheapness by emboldening a publisher to venture upon experiments which he would not otherwise have felt justified in undertaking. The severe competition of recent years has produced a plentiful crop of books of astonishing cheapness. There is hardly a work of any literary value, copyright or not copyright, which, when once it has established its place and reputation, cannot be obtained, well printed and bound in cloth, for a price varying from 6*d.* to 2*s.*

There remain a few cases in which the owner of the copyright, in defiance of commercial considerations, deliberately restricts access to the work whether by means of absurdly high charges or otherwise, or perhaps withdraws it altogether. Even in such cases, the balance of advantage is against any proposal to limit the freedom of the author himself to deal with his work in the manner he thinks best. But it is otherwise with those who hold the copyright after his death; and the Copyright Bill, adopting and expanding a provision that already exists

in the Book Act of 1842, proposes that, if after the author's death the reasonable requirements of the public with respect to a work are not satisfied, by reason either of the withholding of the work from the public, or of the price charged for copies of the work or for permission to perform it in public, then the Comptroller-General of Patents may grant a licence to a petitioner desirous of satisfying the reasonable requirements of the public, subject to proper payments to the owner of the copyright. It should be added that this provision is to apply only to works which have been published or performed in public. Cases of hardship are not inconceivable; for instance, an author sometimes comes to regard one of his earlier works as injurious to his reputation, and therefore withdraws it from the market. In such a case it would seem that after the author's death a licence to publish it might nevertheless be granted. But, on the whole, the provision in the Bill may fairly be regarded as a reasonable *quid pro quo* in return for the grant of a longer term of copyright, and perhaps as a necessary safeguard against its abuse.

Next in general importance, probably, to the duration of copyright, are the requirements with regard to registration. The Copyright Bill proposes that a register shall be kept (as heretofore) at Stationers' Hall, in which the owner of a copyright may, if he chooses, enter a note of its existence. If entry has been duly made in the register, no infringer may plead that he was not aware of the existence of the copyright; on the other hand, if entry has not been made, an infringer who can prove that he was not aware, and had no reasonable means of becoming aware, of the existence of copyright, will not be liable to damages, although he may be restrained by injunction from further dealing with the work in question.

The system thus outlined is a novel one, and it remains to be seen how it would work in practice. It is essential that the section should receive a common-sense interpretation and should not be narrowed by technical construction; the infringer should really have to prove that he has taken all possible steps to ascertain the existence of copyright, and nothing short of this should excuse him. Otherwise the effect will be—what is surely not

intended—that entry on the register will be practically obligatory.

Such a register may become most valuable, not only to owners of copyright, but to bibliographers and all who are occupied in literary research. It is therefore desirable that registration should be made attractive; and with this end in view we would recommend that the fee should be reduced from 5s. to, say, 2s. or even 1s., and that the lists of entries should be printed at stated periods, say monthly or quarterly, and sent to all the colonial governments and custom-houses. The entry at Customs is every year becoming more and more important to all who have literary property to protect; and the present method of procedure is so cumbrous and inefficient as to be almost useless.

The present requirements of the British law as to registration are such that almost any change will be an improvement. The Copyright Committee sum them up as 'anomalous, uncertain, and productive of great disadvantage and annoyance to authors, with little or no advantage to the public.' In the case of books, an action cannot be brought for infringement before registration is effected, but it is sufficient to register on the very morning of the action; in the case of paintings, drawings and photographs, on the other hand, infringements may be committed with impunity until the entry in the register is made; while in other cases no entry at all is required. In all this there is no protection to the public. Even in the case of paintings, drawings and photographs, security can only be gained by a daily, nay hourly, investigation of the register; and the result in practice is merely to expose the author to an additional chance of losing his case without reference to its merits.

Any reform of the Copyright Law was bound to sweep away these anomalies and substitute some uniform system. If reference be made to the practice of other countries, it will be found that the United States stand almost alone at one extreme, imposing rigorous requirements of registration as a condition of the very existence of copyright, and in addition insisting on the marking of all books with a prominent notice of copyright—in fact, treating copyright on the same lines as a patent or a trade mark. At the other end of the scale stand the

greater number of the countries which are parties to the Berne Convention. Convinced that formalities of this nature are merely a vexatious hindrance to the enforcement of the author's rights, and recognising that with the term of copyright fixed by reference to the date of the author's death, neither registration nor marking is necessary for notifying the period of its expiry, they have in most cases abolished these formalities altogether. The Berne Convention, so long ago as 1887, made a serious inroad upon their vitality by providing that an author should be bound to comply only with the formalities (if any) of his own country; the revised Convention goes further, and exempts an author seeking to enforce his rights abroad from compliance even with the formalities of his own country. It may be pointed out that, the United Kingdom being almost the only country in the Union with an onerous system of formalities, this amendment in the revised Convention constitutes a valuable measure of relief to British authors.

The proposals in the Copyright Bill for a voluntary registration are clearly a compromise. It may be regretted perhaps that the Government did not see their way to abolish formalities altogether; but, if nothing more can be got, the suggested system may be gratefully accepted as a vast improvement on the present state of things; and, if registration were made to include notification to the Customs, both in the United Kingdom and the Colonies, a considerable boon would be conferred on owners of copyright.

The rudely-jointed structure of the existing law contains many gaps and crevices in which the author's rights are found to be defective. Thus, to mention only a few flagrant instances, there is at present little or no protection against abridgements of larger works for popular purposes. Again, it is open to any one to dramatise a copyright novel, provided that he refrains from transferring the actual words. It is doubtful whether the author can claim to control the translation of his work into another language, if the translation be published in the British dominions. The sculptor cannot forbid the unauthorised photographing of his work, or the artist the reproduction of his painting in the form of 'living

pictures.' Moreover, the progress of invention has opened up new methods of appropriating the fruits of the author's labour which the rigid phraseology of the existing statutes could not have been expected to cover; music can be placed on pianola rolls, songs on gramophone records, scenes in a play on cinematograph films, without any obligation to consult or remunerate the dramatist or the composer.

The Copyright Bill appears to remedy most of these defects in a satisfactory way, and in general recognises the principle that, subject to the legitimate interests of the public, the author is entitled to control any use which it is possible to make of his work, both in order to share in the pecuniary profits, and in order to secure his work against improper treatment. The Bill further extends the protection of copyright to new classes of productions, among which mention may be made of works of architecture and records for mechanical musical instruments, such as gramophones and pianolas. The inclusion of architecture has given rise to some criticism, mainly on the ground of its alleged impracticability; but the protection of architecture against the reproduction of artistic features or design in another building has been found to work well in France and Germany. As a matter of fact, the Bill on this point seems to err on the side of caution, for it limits the remedies of the architect to an action for damages against the actual infringer. The protection of records would appear to be a kind of compensation to manufacturers for the loss of the unrestricted right which they have hitherto enjoyed to appropriate what music they please. But the proper way to deal with these records is to grant the copyright in them to the singer or performer, whose rendering is the basis of their production. This rendering, formerly evanescent, is now made permanent in the record, which stands to it in the same relation in which the concrete production, the book, the painting, the piece of sculpture, or whatever it may be, stands to the author's conception; the manufacturer's part may doubtless require a high degree of skill, as also does the printer's, but it is not a proper subject of copyright. The Bill proposes the general application of the summary remedies which have proved effectual in the case of pirated music; this extension is well-timed, for

the music 'pirates,' driven from their original sphere of activity, have recently turned their attention to literature.

Finally, the Bill introduces far-reaching changes in the conditions which entitle to copyright—conditions, that is, of nationality, residence and first publication. The conditions required by the existing law are frequently obscure, and vary for no apparent reason in the case of different classes of works. To mention only the two chief cases—for books the nationality of the author is of no importance, nor probably is his place of residence, but it is essential that the book should not be published elsewhere before it is published within the British Empire; for paintings, drawings and photographs, what is necessary is that the author should be either a British subject or resident within His Majesty's dominions.

A frank recognition of the author's inherent right of property in his work would lead logically to the conclusion that no such conditions of nationality, residence or first publication should be required; but it has generally been thought expedient to impose them in order to retain a weapon for the negotiation of reciprocal treatment from foreign countries. The Copyright Bill is no exception to this rule; it provides that, in order to be entitled to copyright, an author must, at the time of the making of the work, be a British subject, or resident within the parts of the Empire to which the Act extends; moreover, the copyright thus acquired will be forfeited if the work is first published, i.e. if copies are issued to the public, elsewhere than in those parts of the Empire. By the issue of Orders in Council, subject to reciprocal treatment, any foreign country may be assimilated to the British Empire for the purposes of nationality, residence or first publication.

It may be expected that Orders in Council would be issued as a matter of course in regard to all the countries of the Berne Copyright Union. But there is another country, of very great importance to British authors, with respect to which the position is not so clear. We refer, of course, to the United States. At present, authors who are American citizens obtain copyright in this country by virtue of the general provisions of the British law; while American citizens, though their Government holds aloof from the Berne Convention, can now obtain

the full privileges of that agreement by publishing in this country. In return for these concessions, British authors are admitted to the benefits of the United States law by Presidential proclamation. After the coming into force of the new Act it would be impossible for a non-resident American citizen to obtain copyright in this country, unless an Order in Council were issued to cover his case; on the other hand, the Presidential proclamation would doubtless be withdrawn unless reciprocal privileges were granted to American citizens. Now it is notorious that the manufacturing requirements of the American law, already very unfair, have been rendered more stringent by the Act of 1909; so that now not only the type-setting and printing of books, but also the binding, have to be done in the United States, in order to secure copyright. Moreover, this requirement applies only to books in the English language, and not to those in other languages, and therefore amounts to a direct discrimination against this country. The position will be a delicate one, owing to the importance of the American market to British authors; but it is difficult to see how a continuance of the present state of affairs could be regarded as amounting to reciprocity, and it is to be hoped that the authorities will take advantage of the new Act to secure some relaxation of the onerous requirements of the American law before extending the benefits of British copyright to American citizens.

Such are the more important provisions in the Copyright Bill. Those who are familiar with the past vicissitudes of the question will find it almost too much to hope that a substantial amendment of the law will at last be effected. But the moment is an exceptional one. The omens are all favourable. A spirit of loyal co-operation among those who are most intimately concerned will go far towards securing a successful issue; and authors, for their part, will be well advised not to put their charter in jeopardy by captious criticism.

Art. 9.—CONSERVATISM.

THE two-party system in this country has achieved a large measure of success because it corresponds to certain real facts of human nature. Broadly speaking, political Man is moved by two opposite tendencies. He both fears and desires change. To one individual the dangers of the unknown future, to another the evils of the too well-known present, are the governing consideration; and so it happens that one set of men form a party of progress, while the others become a party of stability. Two such parties have always existed in England. It is quite true that, until the end of the eighteenth century, party-divisions were neither so rigid nor so logical as they afterwards became. Sometimes it was the Whigs and sometimes it was the Tories who stood for change, since the dominant political considerations were still religious and dynastic. Even so the ideas of order and revolution, of stability and progress, were each represented in the governing forces of the country. Later, as representative institutions developed, and the political issues became more and more industrial and social, the Whigs permanently allied themselves with those sections of the people who wanted Reform, first of Parliament and then of other parts of our institutions; while the Tories became identified with those who believed that the evils of the proposed changes would be greater than any good that they might accomplish. It was to mark this new departure that the present party names were invented. The Whigs became first Liberals and then Radicals. The Tories became Conservatives.

The new Tory name would have been meaningless unless it denoted a definite attitude towards political affairs. Conservatism does not indeed mean satisfaction with the present condition of society or the present distribution of wealth. Still less does it mean indifference to the sufferings of the poor so long as the rich are secured in possession of their property. It does not even mean stagnation. But it does mean great distrust of the beneficial powers of legislation, and a profound conviction that legislative change always does some harm and often does little or no good. To the

conservative-minded man, to whatever party he belongs, it is not enough to justify legislation to prove that a particular social or economic condition is evil, nor even that it could be cured by an alteration of the law. He must further be satisfied that the alteration of the law will not cause more evils than it will cure. He might take as his motto: 'Tis better to endure the ills we have, Than fly to others that we know not of,' just as the Radical might accept as his 'Let right be done though the skies fall.'

If, then, this division of opinion as to the desirability of legislative change is fundamental in human nature, it is surely a disquieting feature of the present political situation that no party advocates Conservatism as one of its political principles. It would be unreasonable to complain that no section of the Ministerial coalition is conservative, though in times past some of the best Conservatives, in the true sense of the word, were to be found in the Liberal ranks. But with the Unionist party the case is different. It is supposed to consist of two wings, Conservative and Liberal Unionist, of which the first is the predominant partner. The leader of the party is called a Conservative; the Conservative Central Office is the chief party organisation for electioneering; Conservative Associations are scattered throughout the country, and a National Union of them claims annually to define Conservative policy in a series of rather incoherent resolutions. But the recent official utterances of the party leaders and the party organisations will be searched in vain for any acknowledgment of Conservatism as a party principle.

No doubt the Unionists have vigorously opposed many of the modern Radical proposals. A very creditable resistance was offered to their policy on education, on licensing, and on land. But it is doubtful how far this resistance can be attributed to zeal for Conservatism. It may have been a mere coincidence that the Church, the brewers and the landlords command forces which it would be suicidal for the Unionist party to offend. If so, it is curious that the opposition to measures like the Trades Disputes Act, the Feeding of School-Children Act, and the Old-Age Pensions Act, all highly objectionable (in the form in which they were passed) from a conservative point of view, was left to a small section of

the party assisted by a few independent Liberals. Even the Miners' Eight Hours Act was not strongly opposed until it had been made clear that it was not as popular as had been supposed.

Nor can the party attitude on the House of Lords question be regarded as free from ambiguity. Last year the House of Lords was persuaded to strain its constitutional rights by throwing out the Budget. Some of those who urged that course were genuinely convinced that, if the land-clauses were passed, their acceptance would constitute so dangerous a precedent that the whole position of the House of Lords would be undermined. Conservatives might well dissent from such an opinion, but they could have no quarrel with it on principle. But others, who represented very influential elements in the party, were actuated by no such fears. These men clamoured for rejection partly because they had persuaded themselves by some mysterious reasoning that acceptance of the Budget would be fatal to Tariff Reform, and partly because they were impatient to return to power and carry their Tariff Reform policy into effect. Politicians of this stamp did doubtless object to the Budget because it introduced into our fiscal system novel and unjust principles of taxation, and also because the machinery for collecting the new taxes was costly for the Government and burdensome for the taxpayer. But such objections to the Budget were not the *causa causans* of the campaign for its rejection set on foot by the 'Observer' and its friends. The underlying motive of their action was the belief that the rejection of the Budget would pave the way for far-reaching fiscal proposals of their own. If there was any doubt as to the truth of this diagnosis, it has been removed by the more recent proceedings of the same clique. Faced by a constitutional crisis greater than any which has occurred since the Reform Bill of 1832, some of them have urged resistance because they believed that another general election would bring them nearer to Tariff Reform. Others have been only anxious to huddle the constitutional question out of the way somehow, even if, in order to do so, they should have to abandon those very powers of the House of Lords of which they were the most vehement upholders a few months ago. It is no exaggeration to say that such an

attitude is scarcely more conservative than that of their opponents.

On Socialism, again, the Unionist attitude may well cause a good deal of anxiety to genuine conservatives. It is quite true that Conservatism is not concerned with Individualism or Socialism as such. Violent legislative change, whether socialistic or individualistic, is equally repellent to conservatives. For instance, they disliked the Trades Disputes Act, though it legalised a partial reversion to that extreme form of Individualism known as Lynch Law, much more than the Development Act, which was in some respects the most socialistic measure of the last Parliament. And they were perfectly consistent in doing so; for the Trades Disputes Act involved a much more violent interference with existing rights, and was likely to cause much greater changes, than the Development Act, which by its machinery was bound to operate very gently and gradually.

The usual proposals, however, of present-day Socialism are not of this innocuous character. Demagogues like Mr Lloyd George and Mr Winston Churchill, and fanatics like Mr Snowden and Mr Wedgwood, disagree on many points. But they are all agreed on this, that the great object of statesmanship, the way to carry on the war against poverty, is by the grant of large doles of public money to the poorer classes of the country. Whether the particular dole advocated is to be by way of a further extension of free education, or by lowering the age for old-age pensions and increasing their amount, or by the feeding, clothing and doctoring of school children, or by the free maintenance of married women for several months before and after child-birth, the general idea is the same. The poor are to have the right to call upon the State to relieve them of some or all of their more pressing pecuniary responsibilities. Can it safely be said that the Unionists as a party are opposed to this principle? The Right to Work Bill, with its proposal that the State shall find work for every one and, if that cannot be done, shall at any rate pay them wages, is another example of the same conception of statecraft; and, as dressed up in the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission, it has attracted the favourable notice of very highly placed members of the Unionist Party. Nor is the situation

much more satisfactory with regard to the other proposals which we have mentioned. Already ardent and unofficial members of the party, men like Mr Goulding, Mr Hills and Mr Watson Rutherford, almost openly advocate them, while the occupants of the front bench more cautiously commit themselves to little, but repudiate nothing.

Two distinctions there certainly are between the Radical-Socialist policy and that accepted or acquiesced in by the Unionist leaders. In the first place, the latter is called Social Reform; the former is advocated as a first step towards Socialism. What this distinction may practically amount to it is impossible to say till we know what are the proposals of the Social Reformers, about which at present they are probably as ignorant as we are. We do not doubt that many of them sincerely dislike all or most of the proposals which we have been discussing. Whether they would resist wire-pulling pressure to adopt them is another question. All we can say is that with recent experience to guide us it would be folly to be sanguine.

The other distinction between the two policies is far more important. Mr Snowden and his friends see no way of financing their policy except by taxing the rich. As he puts it, 'you cannot make the poor richer except by making the rich poorer.' Swingeing death-duties, land-taxes, supertax—the recent Budget, in fact, somewhat exaggerated—are his prescription. The Unionists, on the other hand, propose to get the money by import duties. This is described by Mr Balfour and his more responsible lieutenants as 'broadening the basis of taxation.' In other words, they propose to obtain the necessary funds mainly out of the pockets of the consumers of the articles taxed, which are to include corn, meat and dairy produce. We believe that this is sounder finance than that of Mr Lloyd George and Mr Snowden, because it puts some of the burden of the new expenditure on those who are to receive its benefit. But for that very reason it is incomparably less attractive on a popular platform. Once the party is committed to a policy of State-support for the wage-earning class, it is almost a mockery to suggest openly that members of that class should themselves find the funds for the purpose. Pressed by

this difficulty, the less scrupulous party publicists and speakers declare that the money will be paid by the foreign importer. 'Foreigners tax us; let us tax them.' 'The Radicals say, Tax the land, not the food; the Unionists say, The land produces our food; why not tax the foreigner?' These were some of the messages emblazoned on the Unionist vans sent recently on a political mission to their benighted fellow-countrymen!

Even if the promise thus held out were capable of realisation, it would make the matter little if at all better from a conservative point of view. To debauch the poor but politically powerful classes of the community with doles of money taken from their richer fellow-countrymen is bad enough. But sooner or later, like all other forms of taxation, such taxes would fall to be paid by the whole body of the people; and they would perceive that a nation, like an individual, cannot both eat its cake and have it. If, however, it were possible to obtain money from some external source and distribute it among the needier portion of the population, there would be no check on the resulting injury to character. Idleness, dissipation and poverty would as certainly follow as they did when a similar experiment was tried in ancient Rome and medieval Spain. It is true that in its extreme form this danger need not be feared, because, as a matter of fact, the foreigner would not pay. He might now and then pay some fraction of the duty. But the great mass of it would fall, as it always does, on the consumers of the dutiable goods, a fact which the Germans and Americans are now finding out with growing indignation. Nevertheless, the use of such misleading inducements to the voter is in the highest degree objectionable. To suggest that the money needed for social reform can be indirectly obtained from the foreigner seems to us scarcely less immoral and much less plausible than to incite the wage-earners to take it directly from the duke or the millionaire.

It is difficult to believe that the Unionist leaders do not know all this perfectly well. But their attitude on this, and on many other questions of domestic policy, is one of almost Olympian indifference. The statements you complain of, they seem to say, are, no doubt, exaggerated or even untruthful. But the matter is really one of very small importance, and you cannot

expect us to quarrel with zealous supporters over trifles of that description. Such an attitude is amazing to the ordinary man, and, indeed, it is inexplicable except on the assumption that the Unionist leaders do not regard any domestic question as in itself of first-rate importance. The truth is that the guiding spirit of modern Unionism is neither Radical nor Conservative; it is Imperialist. The leaders believe that the preservation and consolidation of the Empire are of such transcendent importance that no domestic question must be allowed to interfere with their attainment. They further incline to the opinion that in the modern democracy Conservatism is a lost cause, and that to ally the Empire with a lost cause would be both foolish and unpatriotic. They are, therefore, in domestic affairs essentially opportunist. They do not like Radicalism, still less Socialism. Up to a point they are prepared to resist Radical or Socialist proposals. But once convince them that party interests will suffer unless such proposals be accepted, and their resistance is at an end.

To us this attitude seems profoundly mistaken. We do not doubt the supreme obligation which the existence of the Empire imposes on all British citizens. We recognise fully the greatness of the difficulties and dangers which surround it. We concede that on the Unionist party rests a special responsibility in Imperial matters. But this is no reason for the abandonment by Unionists of Conservatism. On the contrary, we are convinced that Conservatism as a policy is no less essential to the prosperity of the country, and therefore of the Empire, than it is as a programme to the prosperity of the Unionist party.

That this opinion appears to be rejected in official Unionist circles is due probably to several causes. One of them is the tendency to accept the description of Conservatism given by its opponents. According to them Conservatism involves resistance to all legislation. This is not so. Conservatives, apart from a few irrational extremists, necessarily favour such prudent alterations of the law as are required by the growing needs of society, particularly if such alterations can be made with something like general consent. The earlier factory and housing legislation is a familiar example of the kind of legislation referred to. There are, besides, the numerous

smaller Acts of Parliament of a departmental character—Bankruptcy Acts, Lunacy Acts, Judicature Acts, reforms of the Criminal Law such as the Poor Prisoners Defence Act and the Prisoners' Evidence Act, the various Acts for the Protection of Children, the Light Railways Act, etc.—which are essentially conservative in character, aiming, not at great sensational changes in the rights and duties of sections of the population, but at improvements in the administrative machine which experience of its working has shown to be necessary. But conservatives are opposed to violent legislative change. In their view the prosperity of the country depends chiefly upon its credit; and credit is based on security and confidence between man and man. Any forcible alteration in men's relations to one another must tend to impair confidence. Men will not lay out capital or exert energy if they are not sure that they will be allowed to reap the fruits of their expenditure or exertions. And, as in the progress of civilisation the relations between man and man, class and class, interest and interest, become more and more complicated, it becomes increasingly difficult to make any change without widespread disturbance.

Besides the main conservative objection to violent legislative change, viz., that it threatens security, it is also objectionable because it diverts the existing currents of commerce and intercourse into fresh channels, and deprives those dependent on such currents of their present resources. For instance, the death-duties and other recent imposts on land have unquestionably caused great hardships in rural localities, where landowners have been compelled to shut up their houses and cut down their expenses. It is nothing to the purpose to say that many of those expenses were economically unsound. The groom or the keeper who is retrenched from his employment suffers no less hardship than would the artisan or labourer in like circumstances. Nor is it relevant to say the money must be obtained somewhere, and that, wherever it is obtained, some hardship will be caused. That may or may not be true. The point is that, if taxation of any particular class or interest is pressed to such a point that individuals belonging to it have to make considerable alterations in their mode of life, then all those who made their living out of that mode of life

will be injured as well as the person actually taxed. The same reasoning applies to other legislation as well as taxation. If the voluntary schools are destroyed, if the Church is disendowed, if the licensed trade is crippled, a more or less numerous band of persons will be thrown out of employment. Nor does the injury stop there. A still larger number of individuals who enjoyed the custom of those who have become unemployed will suffer from loss of such custom; and so on in ever-widening rings of financial disturbance. It may be that the advantages obtained by legislation more than compensate for the injury done. But such advantage is always more or less hypothetical. The injury is certain.

Finally, in addition to the menace to credit and the financial disturbance caused by violent legislation, there are usually unforeseen results, sometimes good but more often bad. Take, for example, such a generally praised measure as the Education Act of 1870. There can be very little doubt that it has had an unfortunate influence on the religious life of the country. It is probably the cause of much of the decay of parental responsibility and filial discipline which so many social observers deplore; and it has brought in its train many measures, such as Compulsory School Attendance, Free Education, and the Feeding of School-Children, which, to say the least of it, conservatives regard as of very doubtful advantage. This does not mean that our present elementary education is a bad thing. But it does mean that, even in the case of legislation on the whole so moderate and conservative as the Act of 1870, some of the results have been both unforeseen and undesirable; and it raises the question whether those results might not have been minimised or avoided if a still more moderate and conservative course had been pursued.

The answer commonly made to reasoning of this description is that, whether right or wrong, Conservatism is a hopeless creed to profess before a popular audience. A political party cannot hope for acceptance, it is said, if it comes to the democracy with nothing in its hand; if it announces that, hard as is the lot of many of them, it has no panacea for the ills from which they suffer. Even if this were true, it would not, of course, justify politicians in promising more than they were able to

perform in order to catch votes. But is it true? After all, the democracy consists of individuals; and the fundamental modes of thought of all individuals, certainly of all British individuals, are very much alike. Let any one who thinks Conservatism alien to the modern mind look into his own. He will surely find there a very strong conservative tendency. In his private affairs he will be conscious that he has frequently refrained from taking a course superficially attractive for fear of unforeseen consequences, and that, when he has not refrained, he has been sorry for it afterwards. He has probably often been deceived to his loss by persons who have promised him great returns from some spirited investment. But in a far larger number of cases he has avoided such snares. It is no doubt true that many people buy quack medicines. But in justice it should be remembered that a far larger number of people do not.

Let us come to closer quarters. In politics do we, you and I, believe that this or that political measure is really going to regenerate the country? Some of us who have constantly said so on political platforms may, like George IV, have come to believe in the truth of the statement we have so frequently reiterated. But take the ordinary plain man whose mind has not been inebriated with his own verbosity, take our old friend 'the Man in the Street,' and does any one doubt that his attitude towards political programmes is rigidly sceptical? His vote is given in nine cases out of ten for strictly conservative reasons. He votes blue or buff because his father did so before him; or because all those who belong to his Trade Union or attend his chapel support that colour; or even, if he is a Scotsman, because national tradition so requires. It is true that it is not on these men that electoral success is thought commonly to depend. The prevailing opinion is that some ninety-five per cent. of the electors always vote the same way, and that the result in a general election depends upon the conclusion to which the remaining five per cent.—the balancing electors—come. It does not follow that, because the actual transfer of votes from one party to another in succeeding elections is very small, it is always the same men who change their political allegiance. It is far more probable that many of the men who voted

Unionist in 1900 and Liberal in 1906, again voted Liberal in 1910, and that others who had up till then voted steadily Liberal deserted their party for the first time in the last of those years. Whether this be so or not, there is no reason to suppose that the balancing elector, whoever he may be, is made of different flesh and blood from that of his more partisan colleague. If, then, ninety-five per cent. of the electors exercise the suffrage on essentially conservative grounds, why should we imagine that the only way to attract the remaining five per cent. is by presenting to them a programme involving legislation of a far-reaching and highly contentious character?

The general acceptance of such a theory appears, indeed, incomprehensible unless we remember that party programmes, in common with other tactical matters, are nowadays controlled by party wire-pullers. Now, a wire-puller's knowledge of the political opinions of his fellow-countrymen is not extensive. He knows nothing of the views held by the great mass of ordinary citizens. They do not come to see him, and he has, generally speaking, no opportunity of visiting them. The two classes of voter which he does come across are the grumblers and the enthusiasts. Grumblers naturally advocate change. That, indeed, is what grumbling means. And, if they happen to be interested in politics, they grumble to the political wire-puller, who is professionally bound to listen to their grievances. It does not at all follow that even the grumblers really wish for the changes which they advocate. But it would be a very clear-sighted and level-headed wire-puller who appraised grumbling at its true value.

The political enthusiast takes in this respect the same view as the political grumbler, and for two reasons. In the first place he conceives that all the ordinary supporters of his party are like himself and will 'vote straight,' whatever happens. The problem is, as he thinks, to detach a sufficient number of the other side to secure victory; and this can be done most easily, in the case of the Unionists, by adopting a certain portion of the Radical policy. In practice this manoeuvre only succeeds in disgusting friends without making any converts among enemies; but of this the enthusiast is willingly ignorant.

Moreover, he spends much of his time at political meetings, and consequently tends to look at politics from a public-meeting point of view. It is told of a well-known politician that he used to exercise his mind by throwing political arguments into a form that would appeal to large audiences of working men. That is, more or less, what every political enthusiast does. The defect of such an exercise is that it creates a preference for those contentions which lend themselves to it most readily. Judged by this test, who would hesitate between a bold 'constructive' policy and the mere maintenance of the *status quo*? Attack must ever be oratorically more exhilarating than defence. It will certainly evoke more cheers. But cheers do not mean votes, and it is by votes that elections are won.

Historical considerations entirely bear out the *a priori* reasoning here put forward. In the last two centuries there have been four considerable periods during which either individual ministers or ministries closely allied in political opinion have held office. They were the periods from 1715 to 1742, from 1784 to 1829, from 1846 to 1867, and from 1886 to 1906. In each case, though the Administrations were sometimes Whig and sometimes Tory, they were essentially conservative. Walpole was brought into office by the fear of a Jacobite revolution. He was maintained there partly by corruption, but much more because the only alternative to his policy was that of the far-reaching and adventurous Bolingbroke, the first and most brilliant of Tory Democrats. Throughout his tenure of office Walpole sedulously avoided every species of sensational legislation. In the few cases, such as the Excise question, in which his proposals called forth serious opposition, he promptly abandoned them. His well-known reply to the Dissenters who urged on him increased toleration of their opinions was typical of his whole attitude towards public affairs. He deeply sympathised with their grievances, but to the question when they would be removed his answer was, Never. He was not prepared to rekindle the fires of a dangerous controversy, even to relieve his political friends of an undoubted injustice.

Similarly, the younger Pitt stood for resistance to the political revolution threatened by Fox's India Bill,

Doubtless very much of his amazing success was due to the disgust felt for the public and private immorality of his opponents. But the political issue on which he fought was partly the alleged attempt of Fox to create a dictatorship under the guise of reforming the government of India, and still more the attack on security and credit involved in those proposals. Upon that issue he fought and won; and he used his victory to carry legislation which might be taken as an example of what conservative legislation should be. It was not, perhaps, scientific or symmetrical, but it aimed at reforming or ameliorating admitted abuses with the least possible disturbance of existing conditions. If, as happened more than once, his proposals were found to excite vehement opposition, he made no attempt to force them into law. On one occasion only did he depart from these principles, and that was in reference to the Union with Ireland. There, indeed, driven to it by a situation which threatened the very existence of the country, he did carry through with a high hand the constitutional change that appeared to him necessary. It is interesting to observe that it was this proceeding which led indirectly to his resignation and the interlude of the Addington Administration.

To pretend that the lengthened régime of Pitt and his successors was due solely to their own merits would be absurd. From 1789 to the death of Castlereagh in 1820, the fear of the French Revolution and its consequences, coupled with the astounding folly and want of patriotism of Fox and his friends, made Pitt and the Pittites the only possible rulers of the country. The few months during which the Ministry of All the Talents held sway proves the general truth of this proposition. After 1820 the Tory party, under the influence of Canning, began to abandon Conservatism. Many of the changes which this school made were in themselves desirable enough. But they were deeply resented by the conservative sentiment of the country. Catholic Emancipation in 1829 is a case in point. Very few will now be found to question the justice of that measure. Even at that time, if it had been the work of their opponents, conservatives would probably have submitted to it without much indignation. Coming as it did from those who had constantly resisted it, the Catholic Relief

Bill profoundly shook the confidence of conservatives in the Conservatism of their leaders; and, when the Reform tempest broke over the country, it was impossible to induce the conservative forces of the country to exert themselves in moderating and moulding the changes then carried out.

The result of conservative apathy was the practical annihilation of the party in 1832. But the zeal of the new electorate for Reform lasted a very short time. In five years the Whig majority was spent; in nine years Wellington and Peel were again in office, with a considerable parliamentary majority behind them. There is a striking speech of Peel's, addressed in 1837 to some of his more impatient followers, which explains the tactics by which he secured this achievement. He says:

'I ask those friends who are impatient for more decisive action, to remember the steps by which our power has been daily advancing. I call upon them to remember that it has been by moderation, by prudence, by an undeviating adherence to our principles, that we have attained our present position. This I advise, that on every occasion, be the consequence what it may, we should resist the acts of the Government when we believe them to be injurious, and avoid no fitting opportunity of enforcing the principles we maintain; that for the purpose of averting any change in the Government, we should on no account abate in the slightest degree one of those principles which we consider essential to the security of our institutions in Church and State; but I do hope we shall never be betrayed, for the sake of any temporary advantage, into an union with those from whose principles we wholly disagree.'

From 1841 to 1846 Peel and his Cabinet governed the country on true conservative lines with remarkable success; and there is every reason to think that, if he had felt able to continue this policy, his Administration would have lasted many years. Unfortunately in 1846 he became convinced that the repeal of the Corn Laws was essential to the prosperity of the country. This is not the place to discuss what course he ought to have adopted under these circumstances. One thing is certain: the course which he did adopt was destructive to his party. Convinced that repeal was necessary, he determined to carry it himself by the votes of the Whig Opposition against the majority of his own party. It

was the story of 1829 over again, with results not less disastrous to his party than on that occasion. The Conservative party was shattered, and the Whigs came into power, which they retained until 1874.

The twenty-eight years of Whig domination may be divided into two periods. In the first, from 1846 to 1865, the dominating personalities in the Whig party were those of Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston. Russell was an opportunist in home politics, and never had any great following in the country. Had he been in sole command, he would probably have allowed the Radical wing of the party under Bright and Cobden to dictate the party policy; and, in that case, the conservative reaction of 1874 might have been ante-dated by twenty years. But until 1865 the chief direction of the party fell to Palmerston, who belonged to a very different school of thought. Nominally a Whig, Palmerston was in reality a typical conservative. His chief anxiety was to safeguard the security and therefore the credit and confidence of the country; and he believed that his object could best be attained by making Great Britain respected abroad and peaceful at home. Vigorous and energetic in his foreign policy almost to a fault, in domestic matters he did his best to avoid all acute controversy. On the whole he succeeded; but, from time to time, the Radical elements in the Government insisted on certain anti-conservative measures, chiefly of a financial character.

These excursions into Radicalism should have furnished opportunities to the Conservative Opposition. But for two reasons no effective use was made of them. In the first place, on financial topics the Opposition was fatally hampered by the events of 1846. Peel carried with him almost the whole of the intellect of his party; and of those that were left very few believed in Protection. Disraeli himself never did. His announcement, in 1852, that Protection was not only dead but damned, represented not less his own judgment than his reading of the signs of the times. In fiscal matters, unlike all other topics of legislation, a critic of one method of taxation must have an alternative policy to propose. The liabilities have been incurred, and in one way or another money must be raised to meet them. Import duties having been ruled out, the only expedient for raising the needful

revenue which suggested itself to the financiers of the time was an increase in direct taxation ; and on a field so narrowed Disraeli was no match for the financial genius of Gladstone. Apart from these special difficulties, there was one of more general application. The Opposition leaders, Disraeli and Lord Derby, never seem to have had any reasoned convictions on domestic policy. Extraordinarily skilful in engineering parliamentary difficulties for Ministers, they never realised that, in order to obtain the confidence of the country, Conservative leaders must have a genuine belief in Conservatism. More than once they succeeded in defeating the Government in the House of Commons, only to find that, in the country, the Radical electors distrusted them even more than they did the Whigs ; and their own dubious Conservatism, coupled with the presence of Palmerston in the opposite party, prevented a sufficient transfer of conservative votes from the Whigs to the Tories to give the latter a majority.

So things went on till the death of Palmerston in 1865, and the succession of Gladstone to the chief control of the Ministerialist party. Then, for the first time, the Whigs were led by a Radical. His first act was to revive the Reform controversy and introduce a Radical Reform Bill. The events which followed demonstrated anew that there is no hope for the Conservative party save in Conservatism. Gladstone's Reform Bill was defeated by the celebrated Cave of Adullam led by Lowe. Disraeli and Derby took office and, misled by the fallacy which has so often been fatal to the Tory party, attempted to 'dish the Whigs' by stealing their policy. For a few months the Tories lingered on in office, though not in power, until Gladstone despatched them with his Irish Church Resolutions. An appeal to the country resulted in an overwhelming declaration by the electors that they had no use for Conservatives who played at being Radicals.

Disraeli was defeated, and he learnt his lesson. For the rest of his life he treated Radicalism as the accursed thing ; and he had his reward. During six years one of the ablest Governments that ever held office in this country, under Gladstone's inspiring leadership, carried out a programme of comprehensive reform. The Irish Church, Irish Land, Education, Ballot, Licensing, Trades Unions

and many other subjects, came under their review. Each great measure was applauded by all friends of 'progress' in the Press and on the platform, and alienated a section of the electors. In 1874 the dissolution came, and the Tories were triumphantly returned. For the first time since 1846, the Tories were both in office and in power; and they were there because the newly-enfranchised electors, like every other electorate that has existed in this country, wearied very rapidly of legislative change and turned to any party that would give them security and repose.

In the years which immediately followed no opportunity occurred for verifying this law. The whole political interest was centred in foreign affairs; and the Tory defeat in 1880 was due, it was supposed, partly to that exclusively English phenomenon, the swing of the pendulum, and partly to dissatisfaction with what was thought to be the too adventurous foreign policy of Lord Beaconsfield. Similarly, Gladstone's second Administration does not throw much light on the contentions here put forward. It is true that the Irish Land Legislation of 1881, 1882 and 1883 was unpopular. But it is difficult to disentangle the unpopularity which was due to its Radicalism from that which attached to it as part of the overwhelming Irish fiasco. So, too, the disasters in Egypt and the surrender after Majuba were so widely and justly resented that it would be unsafe to attribute any of the Tory success in 1885 to dislike of Radical legislation.

With the election of 1886 a period of Tory ascendancy begins, strictly attributable to the conservative sentiment of the voters. Resistance to Home Rule, the maintenance of the Union, were the cries which placed the Unionists in power. The temporary success of the Radicals from 1892 to 1895 was probably as much due to conservative discontent with such measures as the Irish Land Act of 1887, the Local Government Act of 1888, and the Free Education Act, as to any growing fondness of the electors for Radical measures. However that may be, it is as certain as any electoral deduction can be, that it was the attack on the Welsh Church and the renewed attempt to pass Home Rule that again overthrew the Radicals in 1895 and kept them out of office for ten years. Even the electoral landslide of 1906 was very largely a conservative

movement. The main topics discussed at that election were the Taff Vale decision, Chinese Labour, the Education Act of 1902, and the Fiscal Question. Of these, only in the first case can the views of the majority be regarded as opposed to Conservatism; and even then one of the most powerful arguments used was that the proposed legislation was required to restore the law to its condition previous to the Taff Vale decision. The resentment aroused by Chinese Labour and the Education Act of 1902 was strictly conservative, in the sense that the professed object of those who were moved by it was to revert to an old situation rather than to create a new one. On the Fiscal Question the case is even clearer. The objection of such districts as Scotland, Lancashire and the West Riding to Tariff Reform was essentially conservative. It was the fear of change, the desire to leave well, or even moderately ill, alone, that made the voters in those districts so keen to maintain the existing fiscal system.

We may be told that all this is out of date, and that, whatever may have been true in the past, a new spirit, born of better education and more urgent social needs, now possesses the electorate, and makes them eager for a great constructive programme of Social Reform financed by tariffs. In proof of this assertion it may be urged that in the last election, so far as there were Liberal victories, they were due to the Land Taxes and Socialism, and that where the Unionists won they did so by Tariff Reform. It may be so. But it is just as probable that the Liberals won on Free Trade, and the Unionists on the fear of Socialism. It is certainly remarkable that it was in the industrial districts, which would be chiefly affected, for good or ill, by a change in the fiscal system, that the chief Liberal victories took place, whilst the Tories swept the agricultural districts admittedly by the efforts of the landlords and their friends, who had much more to fear from Mr Lloyd George and Socialism than to gain from Tariff Reform. But, even assuming that Tariff Reform is popular—we are not now discussing whether it is right or wrong—the argument here presented is not affected. It is not denied that the electorate occasionally desires change. The point is that this has not been the normal attitude of mind of the majority in the past, and there is no reason to suppose that the present voters differ essen-

tially from their predecessors. It may be possible to win an election by the advocacy of a 'complete reversal of our fiscal policy.' It is contrary to all experience to suppose that such a programme by itself will lastingly appeal to the conservative sentiment of the country, or that the conservative sentiment can long be successfully ignored by party politicians.

If, then, political parties are to be truly representative of the political opinions and aspirations of the people, one of them must place in the forefront of its claim to popular support the advocacy of Conservatism. We may go further and say that Conservatism is so strong a force in this country that sooner or later a Conservative party will come into existence; and, if the Unionist party continue to belittle and ignore conservative opinion, a new party or group will form itself to discharge the duty which at present the official Unionists blindly neglect. To avoid such a disaster, the leaders must recognise that Conservatism does not consist in a pale imitation of Radicalism leavened by Tariff Reform. It must have a definite policy of its own, designed primarily to preserve order and restore confidence in all classes of society, and also to carry out such changes as are proved to be necessary with as little friction and disturbance as possible.

This is not the place to attempt a detailed exposition of a political programme. But an example or two may be given to show how the principles on which we have insisted may be practically applied.

With regard to the constitutional question, it is not denied that some change in the constitution of the two Houses has become necessary. On the other hand, the Radical doctrine of the absolutism of the House of Commons, that is, of the Government of the day, must be utterly rejected. From a conservative standpoint, the chief reason for constitutional reform is not that our present Second Chamber is too strong, but that it is too weak. It operates as a fairly effective check on Liberal legislation. It is no defence at all against the sporadic Radicalism of the Unionists. The House of Lords should, therefore, be reformed so as to make it equally vigilant to check rash legislation, by whichever party it be proposed. To prevent the new Second Chamber from acting tyrannically and obstructing legislation genuinely

desired by the electorate, the present method of consulting the latter by general election should be simplified. Provision should be made whereby, in case of irreconcilable difference of opinion between the two Houses, the dispute should be directly referred to the decision of the voters without a dissolution of Parliament. Apart from other advantages, such an alteration would increase the sense of responsibility of the democracy and would diminish political log-rolling, that fruitful source of undesired and undesirable legislation. At the same time, such reforms should be introduced into the procedure of the House of Commons and the method of its election as would secure to it some degree of freedom of discussion and restore if possible the ancient independence of its members.

So, too, with the great industrial and social problems. The unrest of labour is a formidable fact, of which all politicians must take account. Nor need conservatives hesitate to admit that there are grounds for suspicion as to the fairness of the present distribution of the profits of industry. To attempt to set that right by robbing the rich in order to give doles to the poor will injure the one class without benefiting the other. Indeed, by introducing a sense of insecurity, it may easily accentuate the evil, just as laws against usury raise the rate of interest for needy borrowers. If the profits of industry are to be better divided, it must be by the adoption of some form of co-partnership, which will give practical effect to the essential unity of the interests of capital and labour. That is a matter which must be mainly left to private initiative. But such encouragement and assistance as can be afforded by Government example and otherwise should be given; and, if there are any hindrances to co-partnership in the present condition of our company laws, they should be removed. It must be conceded that no such re-organisation of industry will deal with the other great Labour grievance, namely, the idleness of the rich. No one defends idleness; and it is particularly indefensible in the case of a man who by State protection is enabled to enjoy considerable wealth, and who uses it not only to exempt himself from labour, but also to employ others in ministering to his idle pleasures. But to attempt to remedy this evil by despoiling idle and

industrious alike is neither fair nor politic. The cure of idleness, as of most human vices, must be left chiefly to other agencies. All that the State can usefully do is by taxing amusements and other instruments of idleness, to secure that it shall at any rate receive a percentage of the money which would be otherwise altogether wasted.

On other topics which are exciting public attention, on education, on reform of the Poor Law, on State Insurance, on Tariff Reform itself, and even on Woman Suffrage, there is no difficulty in pointing out the line which conservative statesmanship should take. In some cases mistakes already committed require to be put right; in others the growth of education and of public sentiment necessitate new legislation. There is also a great field for reform of a strictly conservative character in our public offices, in our judicial system, and in other administrative matters urgently demanding attention. But it cannot be too often repeated that the main function of a Government is not to change the law but to administer it, and, if it be driven to change it, to take care that the alterations are as moderate and conciliatory as possible. In the years that are upon us, the international and Imperial difficulties of the country are not likely to diminish. They can only be successfully encountered by a united and contented people. Experience shows that it is by Conservatism alone that national unity and content can be achieved; for Radicalism lives on discontent, which must be artificially created if it does not naturally exist. It is to the Unionists that the tradition of conservative statecraft belongs; and it is to them that the country is looking for that policy of courageous moderation which in the hands of their greatest predecessors brought to England power abroad and prosperity at home.

Art. 10.—GLADSTONE ON THE RELATIONS OF CHURCH AND STATE.

1. *The Correspondence of William Ewart Gladstone on Church and Religion.* Selected and arranged by D. C. Lathbury. Two vols. London: Murray, 1910.
 2. *The State in its relations with the Church.* By W. E. Gladstone. London: Murray, 1838.
 3. *Gleanings of Past Years.* By W. E. Gladstone. Seven vols. (Vols. 5, 6: *Ecclesiastical*). London: Murray, 1879.
 4. *The Life of William Ewart Gladstone.* By John Morley. Three vols. London: Macmillan, 1903.
 5. *Mr Gladstone.* By D. C. Lathbury. London: Mowbray, 1907.
 6. *Report of the Commissioners appointed to enquire into the constitution and working of the Ecclesiastical Courts.* London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1883.
 7. *Report of the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline.* London: Wyman, 1906.
- And other works.

It has been pointed out by Lord Morley that the fundamental fact of Mr Gladstone's history was that all its various activities centred in religion. 'Political life was only part of his religious life. It was religion that prompted his literary life. It was religious motive that, through a thousand avenues and channels, stirred him and guided him in his whole conception of active social duty.' During a life prolonged almost to the ninetieth year and vigorous to the last, Mr Gladstone expressed himself upon most of the religious and ecclesiastical problems which came up for discussion between 1833, when he first entered Parliament, and 1898, when he died; and what he found to say, whether in the field of biblical criticism, or in defence of orthodoxy, or in such special studies as those upon Bishop Butler, begun as early as 1845 and resumed when he finally retired from public life, was always interesting as the product of a mind as penetrating as it was devout. In some cases, it must be admitted, the learning, though considerable for a layman, was not adequate; in others, the position so jealously defended has proved indefensible.

But there is one province of ecclesiastical theory, that of the relations of Church and State, to which Mr Gladstone made large and lasting contributions. To a consideration of the problem as he viewed it at the opening of his career he contributed his first and most elaborate essay; and he returned to the subject, in one or other of its historical or legal associations, by pamphlets and speeches, almost to the end of his life. Still more important is the fact that it fell to him as a statesman to take a leading part in modifying those relations, in response to the pressure, on the one side, of the new democratic spirit, and, on the other, of an awakened self-consciousness in the Church. Hence a study of the changes through which his conceptions passed as his mind developed or circumstances urged, cannot fail to be of interest; and it is that which is attempted in this article. The task has become possible through the labours of Lord Morley, who, throughout his masterly biography, has paid sympathetic attention to the theological side of the statesman's activities; and it has been facilitated by the zeal of Mr D. C. Lathbury, who has both written a sketch of Mr Gladstone's career as a 'leader of the Church,' and has edited his religious and ecclesiastical correspondence with a running commentary. It is no disparagement to the skill of either man of letters to say that the point of view in each case is so much his own that the reader needs to be on his guard against the inevitable prepossessions of an interpreter.

As set forth in the treatise of 1838, 'The State in its relations with the Church,' the case for Establishment is based upon two fundamental principles; the first of which is that the State has a conscience, 'representing the result of the general belief of the people.' Inasmuch as all government implies moral responsibility, which is not only that of the individual governors but belongs to the nation as a whole, the establishment of religion, upon which moral responsibility rests as its only sure ground, becomes a natural and legitimate consequence of the fact of government. When this principle is accepted, the author has no difficulty in showing the advantages that a religious establishment confers upon a nation. In the first place it brings the sanction of a ruling institution to the principles of Christianity. As he remarks (p. 51)—

'In order to raise a set of prepossessions favourable to religion, we require to bring to bear upon men every secondary instrument which is legitimate in its mode of operation; and the uppermost of all these, that which combines, embodies, and (so to speak) perpetuates the rest, is the influence of fixed law.'

Again, the establishment of religion makes it possible to give a universal application to religious influences by a territorial division of the country into manageable districts. Further, there are all the considerations, general and special, connected with the fact 'that the permanent administration of the ordinances of the Church requires permanent pecuniary supplies.' In his discussion of the 'sustaining, correcting and befriending' offices of the Church, the author is in the main indebted to Coleridge, whose argument he characterises as 'alike beautiful and profound.'

The second principle of the essay was Mr Gladstone's own contribution to the subject, and he formally withdrew it thirty years later. It was that, by virtue of its conscience, the State can take cognisance of religious truth and error, is indeed bound to do so, and accordingly must propagate religious truth and discourage religious error to the best of its power. It is hard to resist the suspicion that this very unconvincing idea, although it reflected Mr Gladstone's new ardour for the Tractarian scheme of doctrine which he had recently adopted and, throughout his life, jealously defended, was introduced into the scheme as one of its fundamental principles with the object of defending the establishment in Ireland; it was certainly retracted in the course of the campaign for Irish disestablishment. In 'A Chapter of Autobiography,' written in 1868, Mr Gladstone says of his treatise of thirty years before:

'My doctrine was, that the Church, as established by the law, was to be maintained for its truth; that this was the only principle on which it could be properly and permanently upheld; that this principle, if good in England, was good also for Ireland; that truth is of all possessions the most precious to the soul of man; and that to remove, as I then erroneously thought we should remove, this priceless treasure from the view and the reach of the Irish people, would be meanly to purchase their momentary favour at the expense of their

permanent interests, and would be a high offence against our own sacred obligations.' ('Gleanings,' vii, 108.)

It will be noticed that Mr Gladstone, in this palinode, overstates the bearing of his second principle upon the question of establishments in general. It is indisputable that a State which entertained the notion of establishing a church would not do so, unless it were convinced that the church of its choice was in possession of the truth; but that is a different thing from saying that the object of an establishment is the propagation of truth; or that the Church of England was established with that object. Indeed, in another connexion, when the case of Ireland is not immediately before him, the essayist admits, not only that 'the union of Church and State appears to have grown up in the order of social nature'—a consideration which is much to the point in forming an estimate of the purpose of an establishment—but also that the State cannot be 'immediately and permanently cognisant of the doctrines taught' by the institution with which it forms relations. Accordingly, we are not surprised to find that, after some experience of practical statesmanship, the second principle of the theory was discarded, and the interests of 'truth' assigned to the Church alone.

Mr Lathbury takes the view that the abandonment of this secondary principle was due to Mr Gladstone's change from Evangelical to High Church opinions; but such a view is untenable in face of the fact that every chapter of the essay, as it was written, was submitted to the scrutiny of James Hope, afterwards Hope-Scott, from whom Mr Gladstone had imbibed his Tractarianism; and, indeed, nothing could be less Evangelical, in the party sense of the word, than the view of the Church of England taken throughout the essay. The change is sufficiently explained by the exigencies of practical politics. The recognition of national and social facts was one of the debts which Mr Gladstone owed and acknowledged to the study of Bishop Butler; and there were two facts especially which refused to fit into his scheme, and which, though they might be glossed over in an essay, were in the conduct of affairs less easily ignored. The first fact was that the Church established in Scotland was Presbyterian; and the second that a grant

was regularly made from the Exchequer to the Roman Catholic College at Maynooth.

In the essay these awkward facts are put aside as anomalies. The obligation to recognise the Presbyterian Establishment and to support the Roman Catholic College depended upon the Acts of Union with the respective countries. '*Fieri non debuit, factum valet.*' But even in the essay we can perceive the uneasiness which they caused to the maker of theories. As a north-countryman, with an inbred respect for Scottish institutions and the Scottish character, Mr Gladstone did not feel happy in speaking of the Church of his fathers as an unjustifiable anomaly. It was not a case of 'heterodoxy,' he points out, but of 'separatism,' and possessed every feature 'that could mitigate the anomaly and evil of separatism.'

'Many persons of sincere piety do not object to consider themselves as members both of the English and the Scottish Church, according as they happen to reside, at different seasons of the year, south or north of the Border. And no man can think that the personality of the State is more stringent, or entails stricter obligations, than that of the individual.'

The logic of this last sentence is plainly of the heart, not of the head. With Ireland, in the essay, Mr Gladstone is much less sympathetic. He pronounces the Maynooth grant to be vicious, and advises its discontinuance. But already he faces the surrender of his principle as a possible alternative.

'Unless [the State] is bound in conscience to maintain the national Church as God's appointed vehicle of religious truth, it should adopt as its rule the numbers and the needs of the several classes of religionists; and in either aspect the claim of the Roman Catholics is infinitely the strongest. In amount the grant is niggardly and unworthy.'

When Sir Robert Peel proposed to increase the grant seven years later, Mr Gladstone voted for the measure, though he felt it incumbent upon him to resign his seat in the Cabinet before doing so, as a pledge that his change of mind was conscientious.

But there was another class of facts which helped to convince the practical politician that his ideal polity was not for this world. The House of Commons, to which he

assigned the defence of the faith, already included Dissenters and Roman Catholics; and Macaulay, in reviewing the essay in the 'Edinburgh,' had assumed that its author wished to revive the Test Act. For how was a legislative chamber of so mixed a religious complexion to take that direct and paternal interest in the propagation of Christianity which his second principle allotted to it? And even this was not all, perhaps not the worst; a growing experience of the Church party in the House of Commons brought the conviction that, far from wishing to propagate the truth, it was mainly concerned in preserving to the Church its least desirable privileges.

This notion, that the State is defender of the faith, was not abandoned without grief. In contemporary letters to Manning, Mr Gladstone speaks of 'the essential change now in progress from the Catholic to the infidel idea of the State,' and of himself as being 'actively engaged in carrying on a process of lowering the religious tone of the State, letting it down, demoralising it, and assisting its transition into one which is mechanical.' But his eye for facts, and his natural optimism, made this period of depression a short one. We soon find him with a new theory of establishment, and a new policy, the watchword of which is not 'truth' but 'liberty.' Truth must be the Church's own concern, in the pursuit and propagation of which the State must guarantee her the necessary freedom for the full development of all her energies. There is no essay which develops this new system at length and in detail; but we find hints of what the new freedom was to include in an open letter to the Primus of the Scottish Episcopal Church 'On the functions of laymen in the Church' (1851). As the Scottish Episcopal Church is not established, the argument cannot be transferred direct to the Church of England; but there are relevant passages which speak of the liberty proper to any Church.

'The duties of Christian and citizen now, as ever, coincide. The religious peace which the latter must desire can only be had by the maintenance of the religious freedom, which nothing should induce us to compromise. I do not, indeed, think that our religious freedom in Scotland is impaired by a cordial and thorough observance of the legal rights and privi-

leges of the Church Establishment. I say frankly, I view those privileges as constituting no infringement whatever of what is essential in religious freedom. . . . Against all such encroachments I for one will steadily set my face, and will labour to the uttermost, whether it be ostensibly on our own behalf or on behalf of others, whether for the sake of common justice, or of religious peace, or of Divine truth itself, to assert the principle, vital to us all, of a full religious freedom. That principle, I contend, when the State has ceased to bear a definite and full religious character, it is no less our interest than our duty to maintain. Away with the servile doctrine, that religion cannot live but by the aid of Parliaments.' ('Gleanings,' vi, 7, 8.)

It was probably owing to the fact that Mr Gladstone was a Dissenter in Scotland that he was first led to look with more sympathetic eyes upon the dissenting communities in England. The general defence of Nonconformity in the following passage becomes specially significant when we remember that it was written at the end of 1851, a year which had seen the secession to Rome of Mr Gladstone's most intimate friends, James Hope and Manning.

'Plenary religious freedom brings out into full vigour, and also into fair and impartial rivalry, the internal energies of each communion, so that they stand simply upon their merits before the world. Should any one of them attempt to trespass on the civil power, all the rest will combine with that power against it. And while freedom of conscience, impartially granted to a variety of communions, is thus the best security against collisions between civil and spiritual authority, it likewise directly serves the social purposes for which States exist. For these diverse, and to a considerable extent competing, bodies do in many ways, through the Divine mercy constraining evil to be the minister of good, provoke one another to love and to good works, and are, generally speaking, effective, in something near the ratio of the free development of their energies, towards the maintenance of order and of external or public morality.' ('Gleanings,' vi, 10.)

'The free development of the Church's energies'—this, then, was the formula that was henceforth to govern Mr Gladstone's ecclesiastical policy in England. In 1842, the year after the final revision of his essay, he finds the 'prospective object of his life' in enabling the Church

to develop her own intrinsic means 'with the object of unfolding the Catholic system within her in some establishment or machinery.' And five years later, during the discussion about the enfranchisement of the Jews, he writes to Lord Lyttelton:

'The whole question of the secularisation of the State must in my opinion be considered in connexion with the organisation of the Church. If the Church is to be petrified . . . I think we cannot but oppose the Jews; but if directly or indirectly we can add weight (real and not merely logical weight) to the claim of the Church to have what is essential to her development done for her, by consenting to the admission of the Jews, I for one am ready. . . . I know this bargaining notion scarcely bears exposure in its nakedness, and yet I am sure it is at the root of all wise policy for the Church.' (Letters, i, 80.)

It is very much to be regretted that Mr Gladstone did not address himself in any formal treatise to a consideration of the practical limits within which self-government could be granted to a national church. That there were limits, he clearly recognised. He speaks of the freedom he desired for the Church as necessarily a 'constitutional' freedom, inasmuch as 'religious offices conjoin with temporal incidents.' So early as 1837, while agreeing with Manning that 'a living body' required 'a living unity of organisation,' he had defended the appointment of the Ecclesiastical Commission to deal with 'matters relating to the temporalities' of the Church; and in 1854, at the end of a long letter to a correspondent in which he had said that liberty could not be had without paying for it, he adds an explanation of what he meant by liberty. 'By religious liberty I mean constitutional, i.e. qualified and restrained liberty. The unlimited freedom of a Church is wholly incompatible with the sound and true idea of the alliance between Church and State.'

But beyond this abstract statement we get no light. When we read the early letters to Manning, so full of enthusiasm for an autonomous Church, one of which speaks of Convocation in contrast with the government that was to be, 'as a worm to the chrysalis, or rather to the butterfly,' we may wonder that Mr Gladstone took no practical steps to make his vision a reality. It was Lord Derby's Government which in

1852 assented to the revival of Convocation; it was Archbishop Benson who, a generation later, took the bold step of constituting Houses of Laymen to consult with the Convocations. We may probably conclude that experience convinced the statesman that, so long as the integrity of the faith was secured, the less the Church meddled with legislation the better. It was always the effort to defend some Church doctrine, which the action of the State seemed to be bringing into peril, and never any attempt at a constructive policy, that in later life drew Mr Gladstone into a discussion of their relations. The more important of these crises we must now consider.

We may take first some famous instances in which the Court of Appeal interpreted a controverted point of Church doctrine in a sense disallowed by the party to which Mr Gladstone belonged. As Mr Lathbury points out, there were three important decisions given in Mr Gladstone's lifetime by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as the Ecclesiastical Court of Appeal, which secured a safe position in the English Church for the three chief schools of thought among its members. These were the Gorham judgment in 1850, the Bennett judgment in 1872, and the judgment in the cases arising out of the publication of 'Essays and Reviews' in 1864. That such was the effect of the three decisions is no slight vindication of that much-abused tribunal; and we shall note presently the marked change of tone in Mr Gladstone's criticism of it after twenty years' experience of its working.

The Gorham case arose out of the refusal of Bishop Philpotts of Exeter to institute Mr Gorham to a Crown living, on the ground of heterodoxy in the view he held upon Baptismal Regeneration. The Court of Appeal decided that the doctrine held by Mr Gorham, or at least the doctrine which they attributed to him, was not 'contrary or repugnant to the declared doctrine of the Church of England as by law established'—an opinion with which no one who has read Dr Mozley's treatise upon the Baptismal Controversy is likely to find fault. But Dr Mozley had not then written; and Mr Gladstone went with the stream in describing the decision as 'emptying of all its force an article of the Creed.' When it is remembered that the Church of England

appeals to Scripture for the warrant of its doctrine, and that Scripture lays down nothing expressly as to the baptism of young children, and therefore nothing as to the relation of baptism to regeneration in their case, it is no matter for surprise that two views should have grown up in the Church, the one emphasising the Scriptural meaning of regeneration as implying always a reference to the qualification of the recipient, the other defining regeneration afresh so as to admit of its reasonable application to infants. What is remarkable is that a judgment which said no more than that the formularies as a whole were patient of the Evangelical interpretation, without casting any slur upon the interpretation of High Churchmen, should have been received by the latter party with so much indignation. At the time, Mr Gladstone was as much carried away as any country clergyman. Before the judgment was given he wrote to Manning, 'If Mr Gorham be carried through, and that *upon the merits*, I say not only is there no doctrine of baptismal regeneration in the Church of England as State-interpreted, but there is no doctrine at all, and Arians or anybody else may abide in it with equal propriety' (Letters, i, 97).

A more general question lay behind, namely, what were the pretensions of the Judicial Committee to act as a spiritual court; and Mr Gladstone, always interested in first principles, proceeded to investigate the whole matter, especially with a view to the opinion of Manning that such a decision upon a matter of faith by an 'unspiritual' court was a legitimate consequence of the Royal Supremacy claimed by Henry VIII. On the historical question of what was involved in the submission of the clergy, Mr Gladstone has no difficulty in showing that the Church of England did not surrender any legislative or judicial functions which it previously possessed, but only the right to legislate or try causes without the consent of the Crown. On the appellate jurisdiction itself Mr Gladstone is less happy and less convincing. The fact of chief importance is that the Court of Appeal in ecclesiastical causes rests upon the Statute 25 Henry VIII, c. 19, which, for lack of justice in any of the Courts of the Archbishop, provided an appeal 'to the King's Majesty in the King's Court of

Chancery.' Under this statute the King was empowered to direct a commission under the Great Seal to such persons as he chose to name, whose sentence should be definitive. The character of these commissions is not described; in fact, they are found to have consisted of either bishops, or judges, or doctors of civil law, or a mixture of the three classes. This Court of Delegates, as it was called, lasted until 1832, when, at the recommendation of a Royal Commission, which found the process of the Court in some way inadequate though not 'spiritually' defective, its powers were transferred to the Crown in Council, and in the following year were vested in a Judicial Committee of the Council.

Mr Gladstone points out that cases involving heresy had been so few—only seven concerned even remotely with questions of doctrine being reported between 1586 and 1838—that the authorities responsible for the change had not before their minds the possibility of such cases being brought before it; and he quotes Lord Brougham himself to that effect. But his argument requires him to prove, not only that the Judicial Committee was not the best possible court for a trial involving Church doctrine, but that it was unconstitutional, as infringing the principle recognised by the Reformation settlement—that ecclesiastical laws should be administered by ecclesiastical judges. To do this conclusively, it was necessary for him to show that the Crown had definitely pledged itself to try appeals from the Archbishop's court by ecclesiastical delegates, whereas it had never done so; and it is hard to see why the King's immediate representatives should be ecclesiastical persons, though it was obviously convenient that they should include persons possessing expert knowledge. While arguing against Manning (Letters, i, 112), Mr Gladstone admits that 'the appeal to the Crown was not intended to be the addition of another term to the series, but something specifically distinct'; on the other hand, in his letter to Bishop Blomfield ('Gleanings,' v, 248), he is constrained to find the 'spiritual' nature of the superseded Court of Delegates in the presence among its members of doctors of civil law.

However, the practical recommendation with which his disquisition concludes is, considering the heat en-

gendered by the Gorham decision, a remarkably moderate one. He proposed that the Judicial Committee should remain the Court of Appeal for ecclesiastical cases; but that all points of doctrine arising should be referred to the bishops of England and Wales for their decision, which should be final. It is never possible to suspect Mr Gladstone of insincerity; but no one could have known better than he that a majority of the bishops at that moment would have supported the finding of the Judicial Committee. An attempt to induce them to issue a protest entirely failed. Moreover, when at length he became Prime Minister, he made no attempt to carry his recommendation into law; and, when the Judicature Act of 1873 provided that, in trying ecclesiastical causes, the new Court of Appeal should have episcopal assessors, who should not be members of the Court, Mr Gladstone most wisely though inconsistently defended this new Court as being 'not infected with theological bias' (Letters, i, 171). It may be added that the two Royal Commissions which have since considered the subject, that on Ecclesiastical Courts in 1883 and that on Ecclesiastical Discipline in 1904, both recommended that appeals to the Crown from the ecclesiastical courts should be heard by lay judges, while providing that 'opinions' should be obtained from the bishops as to the doctrine of the Church of England on questions before them. The Commission of 1904 recommended that these opinions should be binding on the Court in all questions involving doctrine and ritual, 'not governed by the plain language of documents having the force of Acts of Parliament.'

After the Gorham case came the acquittal, by the Judicial Committee, of Dr Rowland Williams and Mr Wilson, who had been prosecuted for heresy for their contributions to 'Essays and Reviews.' In 1850, with reference to the Gorham case, Mr Gladstone had found 'the whole principle of infidelity hidden in the assertion that lawyers are the fittest persons to interpret formularies of faith' (Letters, i, 110). In 1864 he made a similar general reference to the power of such decisions to obliterate the lines between truth and error. 'It appears to me that the spirit of this judgment has but to be consistently and cautiously followed up, in order to establish, as far as the Court can establish it, a complete

indifference between the Christian faith and the denial of it' (ib. ii, 83). But in this case he perceives some compensating advantages—amongst them 'a rude shock to the mere Scripturism which has too much prevailed' (ib. ii, 82); while on the constitution of the Judicial Committee he says hardly anything. To Pusey, who was agitating for a reconstruction of the Court of Appeal, he could not 'hold out any hope of effectual assistance.' Writing to Sir W. Farquhar about the important volume of 'Ecclesiastical Judgments of the Privy Council,' which had just appeared with a preface by Mr Fremantle, the present Dean of Ripon, he expresses the opinion that the new historical matter 'is not without a real bearing on the merits of the entire subject.' And then comes a characteristic sentence:

'For my own part, as far as I know myself, my first desire is to know fully and fairly the facts which bear upon the question. The *facts* of our condition in the English Reformed Church do not constitute of themselves an absolute law, but they determine the ground of civil and constitutional right on which a man must meet and deal with those who may be of other opinions and inclinations than his own' (ib. i, 140).

Finally he draws the true moral of the case. Already in 1851, speaking against the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, he had said: 'You must meet the progress of that spiritual system [the Roman Catholic] by the progress of another; you can never do it by penal enactments. . . . We cannot change the profound and resistless tendencies of the age towards religious liberty.' Now, taught by defeat, he applies the same golden doctrine to the competition of parties within the Church of England:

'I believe it has been a mistake in various instances to institute the coercive proceedings which have led to the present state of things; and I remember telling the Archbishop of York at Penmaenmawr, when he was Bishop of Gloucester, that it seemed to me we had lived into a time when, speaking generally, penal proceedings for the maintenance of Divine Truth among the clergy would have to be abandoned, and moral means alone depended on' (ib. i, 140).

On the ritual suits which began in 1868 and went from the Court of Arches to the Judicial Committee, Mr Gladstone has very little to say. In the first two cases,

Martin v. Mackonochie (1868) and *Hebbert v. Purchas* (1870), the Dean of Arches, Sir Robert Phillimore, pronounced in favour of the Ritualists; and the Court of Appeal reversed his judgment. In the third, begun under the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1874, the new Dean of Arches, Lord Penzance, decided against Mr Ridsdale, who himself appealed unsuccessfully to the Judicial Committee. Mr Gladstone did not attach great value to ceremonial as a necessary symbol of doctrine; and accordingly we find him, on the occasion of both the *Purchas* and *Ridsdale* judgments, counselling patience and deprecating hasty measures. It was pointed out by the Archbishop of Canterbury in his evidence before the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline that the prime cause of the failure of the bishops to produce a reasonable policy for regulating public worship at this period was the exasperation caused among the clergy by the vehemence of Lord Shaftesbury, who introduced an annual Bill for putting down Ritualism and sweeping away 'the clumsy anachronism' of ecclesiastical courts. The Bill of 1874, as it was introduced by Archbishop Tait, provided that the diocesan, with clerical and lay assessors, should hear any charge of ritual irregularity against an incumbent: and that an appeal should lie to the Archbishop, who might refer the case at his discretion either to the Court of Arches or to the Judicial Committee. But, when Lord Shaftesbury introduced his amendment transferring the jurisdiction to a single lay judge, and the Government supported the amendment, the episcopal bench, finding no support for their proposal even among moderate High Churchmen, felt obliged to concur. Mr Gladstone was at the time in retirement; but he gave notice (July 1874) of six resolutions which seemed to him to offer 'a more safe and wise basis of legislation.' They received no support; but, besides being characteristic of the flexibility of Mr Gladstone's mind, they are so sane in themselves that they are worth the attention of ecclesiastical statesmen to-day. They run as follows:

'(1) That in proceeding to consider the provisions of the Bill for the Regulation of Public Worship, this House cannot do otherwise than take into view the lapse of more than two centuries since the enactment of the present Rubrics of the Common Prayer Book of the Church of England; the multi-

tude of particulars embraced in the conduct of Divine Service under their provisions; the doubts occasionally attaching to their interpretation, and the number of points they are thought to leave undecided; the diversities of local custom which under these circumstances have long prevailed; and the unreasonableness of proscribing all varieties of opinion and usage among the many thousands of congregations of the Church distributed throughout the land.

'(2) That this House is therefore reluctant to place in the hands of every single Bishop, on the motion of one or of three persons howsoever defined, greatly increased facilities towards procuring an absolute ruling of many points hitherto left open and reasonably allowing of diversity, and thereby towards the establishment of an inflexible rule of uniformity throughout the land, to the prejudice, in matters indifferent, of the liberty now practically existing.

'(3) That the House willingly acknowledges the great and exemplary devotion of the clergy in general to their sacred calling, but is not on that account the less disposed to guard against the indiscretion, or thirst for power, or other fault of individuals.

'(4) That the House is therefore willing to lend its best assistance to any measure recommended by adequate authority, with a view to provide more effectual securities against any neglect of, or departure from, strict law, which may give evidence of a design to alter, without the consent of the nation, the spirit or substance of the established religion.

'(5) That in the opinion of the House it is also to be desired that the members of the Church, having a legitimate interest in her services, should receive ample protection against precipitate and arbitrary changes of established custom by the sole will of the clergyman, and against the wishes locally prevalent among them; and that such protection does not appear to be afforded by the provisions of the Bill now before the House.

'(6) That the House attaches a high value to the concurrence of Her Majesty's Government with the ecclesiastical authorities in the initiative of legislation affecting the Established Church.'

Somewhat more than a quarter of a century after these resolutions were drafted, their spirit was incorporated in the recommendations of a Royal Commission which, for the first time in the history of the Reformed Church, departed from the Tudor policy of an inflexible uniformity, by inviting the Church to revise its rubrics so

as to recognise diversity of use. Mr Lathbury is a little troubled by the fourth resolution, which imposes an obvious limit on allowable variation. With great frankness he calls the policy of his own party an attempt at a Counter-Reformation; and, perhaps to gain the shelter of Mr Gladstone's name for such a policy, he boldly paraphrases the resolution as follows: 'the proper way of dealing with the complaint that the Church of England has ceased to be Protestant and has come near to being Roman Catholic, is a Disestablishment Bill, not a Bill subjecting the clergy to new courts and new penalties. But Mr Gladstone was always loyal to the text and the spirit of the Prayer Book; and few things offended him more than the contemptuous tone in which some of the wilder spirits of his party allowed themselves to speak of the Reformers. He recognised that there were men on the extreme wing of the party who were trying to twist everything in a Romeward direction. In a letter to Lord Harrowby, after the Bill had passed, recommending 'an endeavour to arrive at an understanding, by conference and correspondence, between the promoters of the Act and those who are its objects,' he says: 'One great object is to clear the atmosphere; to know whether it is intended to put a stop to Romanising practices—practices outside the letter and at variance with the spirit of the Prayer Book—or whether wider designs are entertained'; and a few days later he writes to Lord Halifax: 'The question is how to separate between a handful of *obstinadoes*, or men with ulterior objects, and the large, vigorous, and increasing body of High Churchmen' (Letters, i, 397, 398).

We come now to speak of a still graver question, fraught with possibilities of a more disastrous conflict between Church and State than any dispute about ceremonies. Previous to the Divorce Act of 1857 the law of marriage had been administered by the ecclesiastical courts, which recognised only divorce *a mensa et thoro*, or, in other words, what since the Act has been called 'judicial separation'; but for nearly two centuries complete divorce, with power of re-marriage, had been granted by Parliament, statute over-riding canon, to persons whose wealth enabled them to promote a private Bill. In 1853 a Royal Commission had recommended the transference to a secular court of the entire cognisance of matrimonial causes; and also the

allowance of a dissolution of marriage as against the wife for adultery, and as against the husband for adultery with certain aggravating circumstances. Bills embodying these recommendations had been brought into Parliament in 1854 and 1856, and had been lost through pressure of other business; but in 1857 Lord Palmerston determined to see the measure through. The Bill was supported in the House of Lords by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Sumner), the Bishop of London (Tait) and eight other bishops. The juncture found Mr Gladstone out of office and at leisure to consider the question in all its bearings. He had made no protest against the Bill of 1854 though it was brought in by the Government of which he was a member. But now, in Lord Morley's words, he was raised to a fervour 'not any less heated and intense than the fervour of the mighty Milton on the other side two centuries before.' He opened the campaign by contributing an elaborate disquisition to the 'Quarterly Review' for July 1857. His treatment of the subject falls into three parts. He discusses with great elaboration the argument from Holy Scripture; he sketches very briefly the views of the Fathers of the Church; and he concludes with a criticism of the particular Bill before Parliament. As evidence of Church opinion at this period, it is interesting to note that a protest against the Act on the ground that it sanctioned divorce *a vinculo* stands only in the name of the Roman Catholic peers; and that a protest against the sanctioning of re-marriage is signed by only two bishops, Wilberforce and Hamilton. The Lower House of the Convocation of Canterbury passed a carefully-worded *articulus cleri* dealing with the question in 1858 and again in 1859; but on being again proposed in 1860 it was negatived.

It is no disparagement of Mr Gladstone to say that his examination of the Scripture argument would not commend itself to modern scholars. He follows the authority of Edward Badeley, the Tractarian lawyer of the day, who had seceded to Rome, and, in a tract published at the moment, had endeavoured to reconcile Scripture with the Roman theory. In particular he borrowed from Badeley the lawyer-like distinction between divorce and liberty of re-marriage, which had not been invented in the first century. He applies this to the

crucial passage in 1 Corinthians vii, 12-15, and remarks, 'In this contingency of desertion, there is not the faintest allusion to re-marriage.' It is more important that re-marriage is not forbidden, as it is in verse 11, to Christians who have separated through some incompatibility. The latter case plainly fell, as the Apostle points out, under our Lord's general principle of the binding nature of the marriage covenant, which the Corinthian converts found it difficult to realise. The case of mixed marriages was one upon which St Paul felt himself at liberty to legislate. About divorce for adultery he says nothing; but that he held that unfaithfulness destroyed the marriage bond is a legitimate argument from his application, in the previous chapter, of the text 'the two shall be one flesh' to the vicious relation. The argument from Church History Mr Gladstone admits to be inconclusive. He is constrained to allow that after Constantine there is 'some division of opinion' on the principle of the re-marriage of divorced persons; this he attributes to the influence of Paganism. He allows that re-marriage is permitted in the Eastern Church; this he attributes to the 'spirit of the Byzantine State.' In answer to the plea that the refusal of divorce is due to the Papal Church, he is content to reply, 'Why should it be thought a thing incredible that the Church of Rome might here and there, by accident at least, do right?'—wisely ignoring the system of subterfuges by which the Church of the rigid theory allowed practical divorce with scandalous ease.

It is a relief to pass on from all this special pleading to Mr Gladstone's criticism of the actual Bill. He denounces it in a strain of genuine eloquence for reviving before the laws an inequality between the sexes which centuries of Christian civilisation had slowly destroyed: and, in the second place, for enforcing upon the clergy, as citizens, the duty of re-marrying divorced persons, whom in their consciences they held to be married already. On the second point he was successful in obtaining a concession, but not on the former. A note added to the essay in 1878 records his conviction that the general soundness of his arguments and anticipations had been 'too sadly illustrated by the mischievous effect of the measure on the conjugal morality of the country.' It would have been more useful to have given particulars.

We should especially have been interested to learn how much of the evil might, in Mr Gladstone's judgment, have been avoided if Parliament had not thrown out the Archbishop of Canterbury's amendment to restrain the guilty parties from marrying, and the Bishop of Oxford's amendment to punish the guilty parties by imprisonment. Eleven years later still, in reply to questions asked him by an American correspondent, Mr Gladstone, while repeating the main positions of his essay, states his opinion upon the effect of the Divorce Act in much more guarded terms: 'Unquestionably, since that time [1857], the standard of conjugal morality has perceptibly declined among the higher classes of this country, and scandals in respect to it have become more frequent. . . . Personally, I believe it to be due in part to this great innovation in our marriage laws; but in part only, for other disintegrating causes have been at work' (Letters, ii, 362). Without the record of some such change of opinion it would be difficult to explain why, during four periods of office as Prime Minister, Mr Gladstone made no effort to get the Act repealed.

Mr Lathbury, in the very lucid introductions which he has prefixed to each section of Mr Gladstone's religious correspondence, loses no opportunity of enforcing his own thesis that there can be no peace between Church and State until it is recognised that they are governed by separate laws. In his view, Mr Gladstone made a great mistake in not demanding that the indissolubility of marriage should be safeguarded as an article of Church law, irrespective of any concessions made by the State. But, as he also admits, such a policy would not, in 1857, have commanded assent even in Convocation; not to speak of the fact that the 'indissolubility of marriage' in the case of adultery is not held to be the Christian law except by those extreme Churchmen who put forward 'the law of the Western Church' as the true interpreter of Scripture. Mr Gladstone's reason for not taking this course is creditable not only to his statesmanship but to his Christian principle. Convinced as he was that the health of the whole community depended upon the well-being of the family, he dreaded a law which might have the effect of weakening the sense of

the obligation of the marriage bond in the minds of ordinary citizens. The private Divorce Bills which passed through the House every year do not seem to have touched his conscience—a sufficient proof that what inspired his passionate opposition to the Divorce Act was a conviction of its inexpediency, and that the sophistical arguments, scriptural and ecclesiastical, which he elaborated in such profusion, were of the nature of underpinning.

On another question touching the marriage law Mr Gladstone took a different line. The ecclesiastical prohibition of marriage with a wife's sister had long been defended from Scripture; but that defence showed signs of breaking down. The real objections against it were not religious but social, and they were felt by many who had no strong affection for Canon Law. When the matter was discussed in 1849, Mr Gladstone had argued against relaxation: in 1869 he saw the impossibility of resisting the demand of the 'mass of the community'; but, as it was a principle of his that on moral questions the mass of the community is generally to be trusted, it is to be regretted that he had not the courage to follow the precedent of the Divorce Law. Instead, he for once recommended the adoption of Mr Lathbury's expedient of recognising two laws, one civil and one ecclesiastical; and this short-sighted policy was followed by the promoters of the Act of 1907.

Cynics have seen something significant in the date of Mr Gladstone's change of front on the Wife's Sister's Bill, which counted among its supporters large numbers of Nonconformists. In 1867 he had succeeded to the leadership of the Liberal party. In 1868, during the election, he had published his 'Chapter of Autobiography,' in which, while he dealt mainly with his change of view on the policy of Irish Disestablishment, he took the opportunity of revising his theory of the religious functions of the State, limiting its sphere of action to those religious and moral aims which the whole nation possessed in common.

'The action of man in the State is moral, as truly as it is in the individual sphere; although it be limited by the fact that, as he is combined with others whose views and wills may differ from his own, the sphere of the common operations

must be limited, first, to the things in which all are agreed; secondly, to the things in which, though they may not be agreed, yet equity points out, and the public sense acknowledges, that the whole should be bound by the sense of the majority.' ('Gleanings,' vii, 146.)

It had always been part of Mr Gladstone's policy to surrender any Church privileges that were obnoxious to Dissenters; and, accordingly, he had given his vote in 1869 for the Bill allowing Dissenters to be buried with their own services in churchyards, and in 1866 for the Bill abolishing Church rates. But about this time he came into much closer contact with important members of the Nonconformist body, particularly Newman Hall, Binney, Allon and R. W. Dale, and learned to appreciate their genuine sense of religion, and to understand their point of view in ecclesiastical politics. The consequent broadening in his sympathies and growth in tolerance for conscientious convictions were compensated by some loss in the consistency of his Church and State principles.

If this was seen in his changed attitude on the Wife's Sister's Bill, it came out still more clearly in the following year, when the country passed its first Act for popular education. The policy which the Nonconformist party had agreed to press upon the Government was that of a universal system of secular schools, supplemented by such religious teaching as the various denominations chose, and were able, to supply. Mr Gladstone's Church principles, of course, obliged him to demand for Church children what he called 'the integrity of religious instruction'; and he was also in favour of allowing the children of Nonconformists to be taught their peculiar tenets with equal fullness. This, down to 1870, had been the policy of the State, which was accustomed to subsidise the existing voluntary schools through the agency of the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society; and this policy Mr Gladstone would have been willing to extend to the new schools now to be established by the State itself. But the Dissenters soon began to show, as they had shown in 1843, that they preferred no Education Bill at all to one which made provision for denominational teaching. It might have been supposed that Mr Gladstone would then have fallen back upon his new

policy, as expressed in the quotation given above, and have ensured to the new State schools instruction in as much of the Christian faith as, with inconsiderable exceptions, the nation held in common; in other words, the teaching of the New Testament as interpreted by the Apostles' Creed. The 'marvellous concurrence' of the orthodox Dissenters 'in the central truths of the Gospel,' of which he spoke later as 'a mighty moral miracle,' would have made this course possible, and need not have resulted in the fierce 'undenominationalism' which he characterised as a 'moral monster.' But the Dissenters were bitterly hostile to any but their own scheme of a secular system with voluntary denominational supplements. Accordingly, Mr Gladstone's second plan was formulated in their sense:

'Why not adopt frankly the principle that the State or the local community should provide the secular teaching, and either leave the option to the ratepayers to go beyond this *sine quâ non*, if they think fit, within the limits of the conscience clause, or else simply leave the parties themselves to find Bible and other religious education from voluntary sources?' (Morley, ii, 300.)

Happily Mr Forster, who was in charge of the Bill, though at the time he had no seat in the Cabinet, was a man less at the mercy of wire-pullers. Lord Morley, who thinks meanly of his statesmanship and dislikes his education policy, allows that he was 'a man of sterling force of character, with resolute and effective power of work, a fervid love of country, and a warm and true humanity.' This humanity and patriotism led him, although a Nonconformist, to set his face inflexibly against the Nonconformist policy. He procured the salvation of as many of the existing Church and Chapel schools as could be made efficient, allowed the Societies a year of grace to build as many more as they were able, and carried the scheme by which the new State schools were empowered to give any religious instruction allowed by the local authority, provided that 'formularies distinctive of a denomination' were excluded. 'With my assent,' he had said, 'the State shall not decree that religion is a thing of no account.' Lord Morley finds the words ridiculous. 'Insist, forsooth,' he says, 'that

religion was not a thing of no account against men like Dale, one of the most ardent and instructed believers that ever fought the fight and kept the faith; against Bright, than whom no devouter spirit breathed.' But this criticism is not to the point. A man may be a saint and yet advocate a policy the practical effect of which would be to secularise a nation. Mr Gladstone was as ardent as Dale and as devout as Bright; and there are advocates of the same policy to-day who are as ardent and devout as Mr Gladstone; nevertheless it is demonstrable that their secular system, with a voluntary supplement of religious teaching, would leave in practical heathendom the greater part of the children of the working classes. Few persons think the scheme of 1870 an ideal one: it left too much scope to the jealous wranglings of Church and Chapel on the local boards; but few will deny that it gave to the bulk of English children in the past quarter of a century the rudiments of Christian instruction, which Mr Gladstone's scheme would have denied them.

Having thus passed in review some of the more striking incidents in Mr Gladstone's career as an ecclesiastical statesman, we may sum up briefly the extent of the change they exhibit in his theory of the religious obligations of the State. His first view, as we saw, which depended in some degree upon his early Toryism, was that, as the State stood in a paternal relation to the people and was bound to consider not only their tastes but their needs, it had a responsibility towards them of spreading the Christian faith by every means in its power. When the growth of democratic ideas and the increase of popular representation seemed likely to reduce the function of government to that of 'the index of a clock worked by a pendulum,' Mr Gladstone for the moment abandoned his theory altogether and denied that a popular State could have any conscience at all. This he does in a letter to Newman (Letters, i, 71). But the period of depression was short-lived. When he next considered the subject in a formal treatise, he says of the thirty years which had succeeded his first essay: 'During those years, what may be called the dogmatic allegiance of the State to religion has been greatly relaxed; but its consciousness of moral duty has been not less notably

quickened and enhanced. I do not say this in depreciation of Christian dogma. But we are still a Christian people' ('Gleanings,' vii, 150). Consequently, after the recovery from his first disillusionment, he remained steadfast to the resolve to fight every inch of ground in defence of the alliance of Church and State, because of its beneficent effects on English social life.

'It is' (he says) 'by a practical rather than a theoretic test that our Establishments of religion should be tried. . . . An Establishment that does its work in much, and has the likelihood of doing it in more; an Establishment that has a broad and living way open to it, into the hearts of the people; an Establishment that can command the services of the present by the recollections and traditions of a far-reaching past . . . such an Establishment should surely be maintained' (ib.).

It should specially be noticed that Mr Gladstone shows no mercy to a disestablishment policy, somewhat in favour to-day, which rests on the assumption that alliance with the State must inevitably impair the witness of the Church. He attacks it vigorously in his first essay, and recurs to the subject in his 'Chapter of Autobiography.' He points out that the familiar quotation from Dante's 'Inferno' about Constantine, so often applied, among others by Mr Gladstone's biographer, to the alliance of Church and State, refers not to this but to the supposed donation of temporal sovereignty; and contends that, by the combined evidence of friends and foes, the alliance proved a powerful influence in extending the truth of religion. He insists further that, if Christ died for the whole race, it is better to have a somewhat lower average tone over a large area than for Christianity to be restricted to a private society. We may add that it is always possible, even for an Established Church, to maintain an intensity of heat and light at the centre of the system, even if it only nominally embraces the greater part of a community; and we may well doubt whether, if the Church does not do so under an Establishment, it would do so in any other circumstances.

Art. 11.—THE NAVAL CRISIS.

1. *The Navy League Annual*. Edited by Alan H. Burgoyne. London : Murray, 1909.
2. *The Naval Annual*. Edited by T. A. Brassey. Portsmouth : Griffin, 1910.
3. *Fighting Ships*, 1910. Edited by Fred T. Jane. London : Sampson Low, 1910.
4. *The Campaign of Trafalgar*. By Julian S. Corbett. London : Longmans, 1910.
5. *The Naval Operations of the War between Great Britain and the United States, 1812-15*. By Theodore Roosevelt. London : Sampson Low, 1910.

THE naval supremacy of Great Britain is in grave peril. It is already apparent that a determined effort will be made, before the Navy Estimates for next year are laid before Parliament, to convert the Cabinet—if conversion is necessary—to a policy of ruinous economy on the British fleet in face of immense expenditure on foreign fleets, and to subvert the judgment of the predominant element in the electorate, the working classes, for whom the Navy means work and food. The leader of the new anti-navy campaign is not a free-lance politician, speaking from a public platform, but a responsible Minister of the Crown, speaking from the Treasury Bench. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has set out on the new crusade with the support of the Home Secretary and other members of the Cabinet. The line of attack was indicated in his Budget speech. Mr Lloyd George did not attempt to show that our fleet is larger than the situation demands; he did not indulge in such platitudinous laments over its cost as Chancellors in the past have frequently made; but he suggested that a rivalry exists between adequate measures for national defence by sea, and measures for improving the lot of the working classes at home. Turning to the Radical and Labour benches, he stated that

‘if the taxes fulfil their promise, and come up to the Government’s expectations next year, and if we return to the normal naval expenditure in the following year, we can see our way to start next year on a great national scheme of insurance

against unemployment and invalidity, a scheme on a contributory basis with a liberal State subsidy—a State subsidy twice as liberal as that given by Germany for the same purpose, which will insure 2,500,000 workmen employed in precarious trades against the evils of unemployment, and 13,000,000 of working men and working women against the distress that comes from sickness and the premature breakdown of the breadwinner, and will provide for the setting up of sanatoria for the cure of illness.'

In this passage a rivalry was suggested between national security and social amelioration. The section of the Press which echoes the Chancellor's views was not slow to drive home this statement of policy. The working classes have been repeatedly reminded that, if the expenditure on the Navy is reduced, the sooner will blessings flow from the Treasury Bench. The masses are being urged to oppose reasonable precautions against aggression, not because precautions are unnecessary, but because by limiting expenditure on the Navy they may obtain advantages for their particular class. Was ever a more insidious campaign initiated? What section of the community will feel as soon and as acutely the privations of war as that which works for a weekly wage? Yet it is on these lines that a conspiracy against our naval supremacy is being organised, with a view to coercing the Admiralty into the acceptance of estimates insufficient for the due maintenance of the fleet.

Policy does determine armaments, but not the policy of the British Government only; indeed, the more peaceful the outspoken intentions of the British Government, the more bellicose frequently becomes the attitude of rival Powers. The important factor in determining the extent of British armaments is not British policy, but the policy of other countries. Now the scale of our armaments, as of those of the United States, France, and even, in a great degree, of Japan, is dictated by Germany. The official relations between the British and German Governments are friendly; and no one would designedly utter one word which would tend to hinder an understanding being reached between the two peoples. But we cannot ignore the operation of the German Navy Law, under which, a fleet 'greater than any now in existence' (to quote Sir Edward Grey) is being created and trained within

three or four hundred miles of our shores. This fleet is rapidly becoming the dominating factor in international politics. It is not our business to object to the scale on which Germany chooses to organise her naval forces, but it is our business to watch this development in the light of Germany's past policy, and to take such measures as may be necessary.

We need hardly remind our readers of the salient facts in the recent history of that country, or of the methods which have been employed in the aggrandisement of Prussia. We have no evidence that these methods have been abandoned. Year by year, we watch the growth of the German fleet, the creation of a series of menacing fortifications facing the North Sea, the assiduous care taken to perfect the efficiency and inflame the military spirit of the greatest army in the world; and we, whose highest interest is peace, wonder what such measures mean. Russia is exhausted by foreign and internal conflicts; France is thrifty and lethargic, and was never less desirous of war; Italy, with embarrassed finances, seeks no adventures; England, with an army of insignificant proportions, was never less inclined for hostilities than to-day. Where is the cloud that hangs over the German Empire, allied to the huge armaments of Austria-Hungary? What is there to explain the feverish haste with which Navy and Army are being marshalled on a scale, and at a cost, unequalled by any of the great Empires of the past? We have one arm only for our protection, for safeguarding our oversea dominions, for protecting our commerce and our food-supplies; and, however innocent Germany may be of hostile intentions against ourselves or others, we cannot forget that our present and our future lies on the sea, and that by the sea we live. It is in face of this rapid growth of armaments abroad that a conspiracy is being organised, in our midst and by men of our blood, against the maintenance of British naval forces in sufficiency and efficiency.

We are faced by a naval crisis, a crisis at once serious and imminent. The salient facts of the situation are no longer in doubt; they are not disputed even by members of the Government. We need not recapitulate the grave admissions made by the Prime Minister and

the Foreign Secretary in the spring of 1909, admissions to which we called attention in these pages last autumn. In July last, when Mr Asquith next dealt with the naval situation, he distinctly affirmed that nothing had occurred in the interval to cause the Government to retract a single one of these earlier statements; and he proceeded to make a specific admission of the relative strength of the British and German fleets which, in the light of new facts, has hitherto failed to attract that measure of attention which it merited. Mr Asquith told us that in April of this year the German Government had placed orders for four more ships of the largest armoured type, asserting that he obtained this intelligence from the official records of the German Government. In the light of this further acceleration, the Prime Minister indicated the relative strength of the two navies in capital ships at specified dates in the future.*

	Great Britain.	Germany.
End of 1911	16	11
April 1912	20	13
„ 1913	25	21

The First Lord of the Admiralty went into rather more detail than the Prime Minister, in order to justify in the eyes of the naval economists in the House of Commons the programme of construction put forward by the Government. Commenting upon the implied suggestion that it was unnecessary to lay down the five ships for which the Admiralty asked, Mr McKenna said:

‘If I do not give an order for these five, under the German law—I name Germany because it has been so often mentioned—the Germans are entitled merely on the procedure of this year to give an order for another four large armoured ships next April. I cannot get permission from Parliament until next April to lay down any more. They would have seven on the slips against our four, and four more on order. Does my hon. friend’ [Mr John Dillon, who moved the reduction of the vote and was supported by 69 members] ‘think that in these circumstances I should be doing my duty in not asking power from Parliament to build an additional five? Surely he would not say to me that was an adequate number—ten built against five built; six launched against five launched—

* This tabulated statement was published in the ‘Liberal Magazine’ of August 1910 (p. 399), in a summary of Mr Asquith’s speech.

then it would be four on the slips as against seven on the slips, and none ordered against four ordered. These would be the actual conditions if the Admiralty took no steps to lay down any ships this year, and unless we now take powers to lay them down. We only propose to give the orders in the months of October or November next. We do not lay them down until January or March; and, unless we take power, what would be our position face to face with this other Power?'

Is it not apparent from these official admissions that the naval situation is far more grave than has yet been appreciated by the country at large? We may sum them up as follows. (1) Great Britain has lost the superior productive capacity upon which we prided ourselves in the past. (2) Germany can now build the largest armoured ships as rapidly as we can. (3) In April 1913 we shall have only twenty-five Dreadnoughts to Germany's twenty-one. (4) Owing to her increased resources, Germany can accumulate in advance armaments for other ships which may rapidly be pushed on to completion.

Despite these admissions, members of the Government still profess allegiance to the two-power standard. The plain truth is that, on the Prime Minister's own showing, we shall have a bare superiority over one Power only, in the latest types of armoured vessels, in the early months of 1913; and it follows from Sir Edward Grey's lucid statement that, a year or two later, even that narrow margin may have been eliminated, owing to Germany's abandonment of her 'declaration of intention' not to accelerate, and her adoption of a new determination to utilise to the full the constructive resources which she has developed during the past few years.

Nor is this all. It is remarkable that in recent naval discussions there has been a marked tendency to forget that there are other fleets—fleets which are also increasing—besides that which floats under the German ensign. It is true that our relations with other Powers are more amicable than at any time during the past fifty years. We may rejoice in the evidences of good-will between ourselves and other great Powers. The amiable disposition of these countries towards us has facilitated a redistribution of our naval power which has enabled us to concentrate in northern waters fleets which are at present

of dominating strength. Foreign policy always has and always should influence the distribution of the fleet; but we should court disaster if alliances and friendships led us to reduce our standard of armaments. It is impossible to foresee what changes may occur in the grouping of the Great Powers. There is only one safe course to be pursued, in the interest alike of the safety of British interests and of the relations between the United Kingdom and other Powers. The strong man armed is not friendless; the weak man unarmed has usually few supporters.

It would, therefore, be dangerous to the point of national madness to ignore the efforts which are being made by other powers to increase their naval strength. On the admission of Mr Asquith, Italy, one of the signatories of the Triple Alliance, will possess four Dreadnoughts by the year 1913-'14. On the admission of the Admiralty, two Austrian battleships or armoured cruisers, of the Dreadnought or Invincible type, have been laid down at Trieste and Pola respectively; and two other vessels of a similar class are shortly to be laid down. It is thus established that, at a not very distant date, Italy and Austria will possess eight ships of the Dreadnought type. If the completion of these ships is placed as late as the end of 1914, it follows that at this date the Triple Alliance will possess at least thirty-three ships of the Dreadnought type, namely twenty-three German,* four Austrian, and four Italian. It is common knowledge that, at about the same date, France will possess eight large armoured vessels of the new type. Spain will have four of somewhat smaller displacement. Russia will probably have completed the quartette laid down in the summer of 1909. There will be at least five under the Japanese flag; and ten will by that time have passed into the fleet of the United States. These anticipations rest not upon 'paper programmes' but upon actual work of construction which is now in progress in the dockyards of these Powers.

It is impossible that the British people, in their jealous care for the maintenance of British supremacy, can disregard this unprecedented naval activity. It is also

* This total includes the 21 which Germany will have in April 1913, and the two of the 1912 programme. More than two may, however, be begun in 1912.

impossible, by any arithmetical rule, to reconcile the statements of the Prime Minister and the First Lord as to the prospective strength of the British fleet three or four years hence with the maintenance of the most shadowy semblance of the two-power standard. At a date in 1914, when all these foreign ships will have passed into active service, the British lead in the newest types of armoured ships over one of these Powers alone, namely Germany, may amount to only four ships in European waters, *plus* whatever provision may be made next year—a margin of superiority which may disappear at the critical moment owing to chance misfortune. The peril of this situation was admitted by the First Lord himself during the recent debate in the House of Commons. After Lord Charles Beresford had spoken, Mr McKenna replied thus to one portion of the speech by the late Commander-in-Chief of the Channel Fleet :

“ I will only refer to one statement made by the noble lord the member for Portsmouth. He recited an incident within his own experience when he was a commander of eight battleships, that, owing to some accident, six were laid up at the same time.”

‘ Lord Charles Beresford: “ No; four were laid up owing to accident and two were undergoing repair.”

“ Yes. That is an experience we must always guard against; and it is because equality or bare superiority would not suffice, that I entirely agree with the arguments he used that there might be a contingency owing to accident of that sort when bare superiority would vanish. But the noble lord must not himself forget that these accidents happen to both parties. While we require superiority that will guarantee us against accident, we do not need always to regard that as a contingency that will necessarily happen to us alone.”

In this interchange between the First Lord of the Admiralty and Lord Charles Beresford, we have an admission which indicates the perilous position which the British fleet may occupy when its nominal superiority rests upon the efficiency of a few units. Mr McKenna's optimistic assumption that these accidents happen to both parties is not one upon which the nation will be inclined to rely, preferring rather to act upon his own motto that ‘ we must not run risks.’ Who can doubt that in 1913 or 1914, when we shall have a bare superiority

over one Power alone, we shall be running the gravest risks, particularly in view of the accession of strength which will by that time have been made to the fleets of its allies?

Apart from the armoured ships of the new types which are being added to the British fleet, we have, it is true, a large number of vessels which are described generically as 'pre-Dreadnoughts.' There is a tendency to attach too great importance to these ships. Since the present acute naval crisis began, those who preach the gospel of naval economy have never ceased to keep these forty older battleships in public view. There is no doubt that in these older ships we have a notable lead over any other two Powers. We owe this, first, to the efforts of the administrations of Lord Salisbury and Mr Balfour to maintain the two-power standard in the keen contest of the nineties against France and Russia; and, secondly, to the virtual destruction of the Russian fleet in the war in the Far East, and to the corrosive influence of M. Pelletan, the former socialist Minister of Marine, upon the French fleet. As a result of these various influences, we possessed, after the conclusion of the war in the Far East, an effective battle-fleet comparing as follows with the battle-fleet of Germany:

GREAT BRITAIN.			GERMANY.		
		Tons.			Tons.
2 Lord Nelson . . .		16,500	5 Deutschland . . .		12,997
8 King Edward VII .		16,350	5 Braunschweig . .		12,997
8 Formidable . . .		15,000	5 Wittelsbach . . .		11,643
9 Majestic		14,900	5 Kaiser class . . .		10,614
5 Duncan		14,000			
6 Canopus		12,950			
2 Triumph		11,800			
<hr/>			<hr/>		
40 ships with a total of		589,200	20 ships with a total of		241,255

Had the evolution of naval armaments followed a normal course, we might still have been content to regard these older battleships as retaining a fighting value in strict accordance with their age. In these circumstances the forty British vessels would have fallen into obsolescence on the dates named below—these dates being calculated from the year of launching on the twenty-years basis incorporated in the German Navy Act of 1908:

Year of Replacement.	Name.	Displacement in Tons.	Armament.
1914 . . .	Magnificent	14,000	{ 4 12-inch. 12 6-inch q. 16 3-inch q. 12 3-pr q. 2 light. 2 machine.
1915 . . .	Majestic		
1915 . . .	Victorious		
1915 . . .	Prince George		
1915 . . .	Jupiter		
1916 . . .	Cæsar		
1916 . . .	Mars		
1916 . . .	Hannibal		
1916 . . .	Illustrious		
1917 . . .	Canopus	12,950	{ 4 12-inch. 12 6-inch q. 10 3-inch q. 6 3-pr q. 2 light. 2 machine.
1918 . . .	Ocean		
1918 . . .	Goliath		
1919 . . .	Glory		
1919 . . .	Vengeance		
1918 . . .	Albion		
1918 . . .	Formidable	15,000	{ 4 12-inch. 12 6-inch q. 16 3-inch q. 6 3-pr q. 2 light. 2 machine.
1918 . . .	Irresistible		
1919 . . .	London		
1919 . . .	Bulwark		
1919 . . .	Venerable		
1919 . . .	Implacable		
1922 . . .	Queen		
1922 . . .	Prince of Wales		
1921 . . .	Albemarle	14,000	{ 4 12-inch. 12 6-inch q. 12 3-inch q. 6 3-pr q. 2 machine.
1921 . . .	Duncan		
1921 . . .	Exmouth		
1921 . . .	Russell		
1921 . . .	Cornwallis		
1923 . . .	Triumph	11,800	{ 4 10-inch. 14 7·5-inch q. 14 14-pr q. 4 6-pr q. 4 machine. 2 light.
1923 . . .	Swiftsure		
1923 . . .	Dominion	16,350	{ 4 12-inch. 4 9·2-inch. 10 6-inch q. 14 3-inch q. 14 3-pr q. 2 machine.
1923 . . .	King Edward VII		
1923 . . .	Commonwealth		
1924 . . .	New Zealand		
1924 . . .	Hindustan		
1924 . . .	Britannia		
1925 . . .	Hibernia		
1925 . . .	Africa		
1926 . . .	Lord Nelson	16,500	{ 4 12-inch. 10 9·2-inch. 15 3-inch q. 24 smaller q.
1926 . . .	Agamemnon		

Under normal conditions, therefore, these older battle-ships would have continued to figure as more or less

effective units of the fleet, or at least a valuable reserve, for many years to come, and would have dropped out of Navy at the following rate :

Year.	No. remaining effective.	Year.	No. remaining effective.
1914. . . .	39	1921	14
1915. . . .	35	1922	12
1916. . . .	31	1923	7
1917. . . .	30	1924	4
1918. . . .	25	1925	2
1919. . . .	19	1926	—
1920. . . .	19		

This is roughly the basis upon which, prior to the recent remarkable development in naval armaments, it had been calculated that these forty ships would fall into complete obsolescence. Unhappily, their value is now steadily and rapidly decreasing, and that owing to two causes. In the first place, they have suffered from the natural decadence of age ; in the second place, they have suffered still more from the remarkable progress of mechanical science in its application to naval armaments. Even so recently as twelve months ago, it was possible to regard them with some amount of assurance as fighting assets upon which we could continue to rely as a second line for some years to come.

But, in the interval, great progress has been made in the manufacture of a type of armour of much greater resisting power than the armour carried by these older ships ; a primary gun of much increased fighting power has been evolved ; and a new and more deadly torpedo has been introduced. In the British fleet a gun of 13·5 inches, throwing a shell of 1250 lb., is now being mounted in new ships, marking an immense advance upon even the most recent type of 12-inch gun. The increase in size is accompanied by a more than corresponding increase in the destructive power of the shell. Foreign gun manufacturers are already evolving weapons which will compare favourably with, if they do not excel, the new British gun. In the United States a 14-inch gun has been manufactured and has passed through its tests with success ; and twelve of these weapons will be carried in each of the two new battleships authorised by the American Congress this year. On behalf of the German Govern-

ment, the great firm of Krupp have also turned attention to the making of a 14-inch gun; and it is apparent that weapons of this immense power will be the primary armament of all large armoured ships to be laid down in future years. The progress which has also been made in torpedo equipment is hardly less remarkable. For the British and foreign fleets, 21-inch torpedoes are now being manufactured. The new British torpedo, which is displacing the torpedo of 18 inches, has a range of about 7000 yards, carries an explosive charge of over 250 lb. of gun-cotton, and possesses a speed exceeding 40 knots. These developments in the manufacture of armour and the creation of more powerful instruments of attack have depreciated, to an extent unlooked-for a year or two ago, the pre-Dreadnought battleships of the British fleet. In proof of this, it is only necessary to indicate the heavy gun-power of the newer vessels as contrasted with that of the older types.

—	Broadside Fire.	Penetration of Krupp armour at 5000 yards.
Pre-Dreadnought . . .	4 12-inch (850-lb. shell)	Inches. 11½
Dreadnought* . . .	8 " " "	16
Improved Dreadnought . .	10 " " "	19
Super-Dreadnought . . .	10 13·5-inch (1250-lb. shell)	22

* The 'Lord Nelson' and 'Agamemnon' and some other pre-Dreadnoughts carry the same primary gun—namely the 12-inch of 45 calibres, but they mount only four each.

The penetrative power of the heavy gun, at something approaching three miles range, has nearly doubled since the ships of the 'Majestic' and 'Canopus' classes were built, and has increased by nearly 40 per cent. since the more recent ships were laid down, between 1897 and 1905, when work on the 'Dreadnought' was begun. This progress is coincident with an immense increase in the explosive charge, as indicated by the use of a shell of 1250 lb. instead of one of 850 lb. Nor does this complete the story of the loss in comparative fighting powers suffered by the older battleships. There has been a corresponding development in the efficiency of the torpedo and of the resisting power of armour. The 'Majestic' has a 9-inch belt of Harveyised steel, which is only

equivalent to about 5 inches of the armour now being used. The 'Orion,' recently launched at Portsmouth, has a belt of 12 inches, and is consequently nearly 140 per cent. better protected than the 'Majestic'; while the 6-inch Harveyised belt of the 'Canopus' class is now hardly worth consideration in a ship of the line. The 'Duncan' and 'Formidable,' classes of comparatively recent construction, are also greatly inferior in defensive qualities, in comparison with the vessels now being built for the British and foreign fleets, while it is impossible to ignore the fighting power represented in the increase of 4 knots in speed. Even the early ships of the 'Dreadnought' type are already being thrust into the background, since they mount less powerful primary guns, discharge the 18-inch torpedo, carry armour of far less resisting power, and have only 8 guns on the broadside, whereas ships are building abroad with 12 guns of increased power.

We thus reach the conclusion that these pre-Dreadnought battleships, not only of the British but of all foreign fleets, are deteriorating with a rapidity unexampled in the history of naval power. All calculations, hitherto accepted, have been completely upset by recent events. No one can now entertain the hope that any Board of Admiralty will regard the ships of the 'Canopus' type as still possessing eight or nine years more of effective life. They have already been retired to the Fourth Division of the Home Fleet; while the nine vessels of the 'Majestic' class are apparently also looked upon as of almost negligible value, since one of them has already been relegated to the same division, and the others are evidently destined for the same downward movement at an early date.

In the light of recent Admiralty orders, we are led to the conclusion that already the Board regards 15 of the 40 ships as of small account for fighting purposes. There is every reason to anticipate that, within a year or so, the five vessels of the 'Duncan' class, with their weak guns and thin belts of only 7 inches, and the 'Swiftsure' and 'Triumph' will also be withdrawn from the fully commissioned fleet. There will then remain, of the pre-Dreadnought battleships, only the eight ships of the 'Formidable' type, with the eight 'King Edwards,' the

'Lord Nelson' and 'Agamemnon,' or a total of eighteen. Two or three years hence, the ships of the 'Formidable' class will probably have passed into the Third Division of the Home Fleet or be serving in foreign waters, and the other ten ships will form a valuable second line in home waters. But, with the appearance of completed ships carrying the 13·5-inch or 14-inch gun, the 21-inch torpedo, and much harder armour, even these ships will deteriorate with alarming rapidity. It is no exaggeration to state that, within five or six years, not a single one of the forty pre-Dreadnought battleships of the British fleet will be of sufficient fighting merit, when contrasted with the increasing array of foreign 'Dreadnoughts,' to be regarded as fully effective ships.

The same process of deterioration will affect the older ships of foreign fleets, but the process will not proceed *pari passu*. Germany possesses only twenty of these older ships, to the forty which are still under the White Ensign: consequently in the next five or six years the British strength in these pre-Dreadnought ships will decrease in strict conformity with a standard of two keels to one. For every ship of the older types which Germany relegates to the scrap-heap, Great Britain will have to dispense with two. By 1915 or 1916, therefore, the comparative fighting strength of the British and German fleets in effective armoured ships will depend almost exclusively upon those of the 'Dreadnought' type. Since it is admitted that Germany can now build, if she will, as quickly as we can build, and since it is admitted that in April, 1913 we shall possess only a bare superiority over Germany in the newer types of armoured ships, it follows that, if our supremacy is to be maintained, a determined effort must be made to readjust the balance in the next few years. There is only one policy of safety. As we discard as ineffective these older battleships at the rate of two keels to one, so we should build new ones on the same standard of strength. The two-power standard has ceased to accord with the present international situation. We need a new formula for the fleet; and no better formula has been suggested than that of two keels to one against the next strongest Power. This Power happens now to be Germany. Germany, as was noted by the special correspondent of the 'Times,' who was present

at the recent naval manœuvres, measures her strength by the British fleet; and there is no suggestion of offence in our adopting a similar attitude.

Fortunately the main pressure of the competition is in respect of armoured ships. Whatever may have been the result of the introduction of the 'Dreadnought' design in other directions, it has certainly had one unexpected advantage. Owing to the large expenditure involved in the construction of large armoured ships, the naval Powers of the world have limited their outlay upon cruisers. The number of scouting vessels laid down in foreign shipbuilding yards, since the adoption of the all-big-gun principle in large vessels, has been remarkably small. Even France, which a few years ago devoted much attention to the construction of cruisers intended to prey upon commerce in time of war, has entirely ceased to build this type of ship; and none will be laid down in the next nine years. The same course has been adopted by Russia, Italy, Austria, and the United States.

But the German naval authorities have never wavered as to the high value which they attach to swift scouting vessels of comparatively small size. There is not a single first-class protected cruiser in the German fleet, and it has only nine armoured cruisers; but it contains valuable groups of small cruisers. Since the early years of the present century, provision has been made for laying down two cruisers annually; and thus it happens that, at this moment, Germany possesses, next to ourselves, the most considerable force of ships of the scouting type. At first these vessels were of small size, averaging only just over 2500 tons; but for seven years past there has been a steady increase in displacement, in order to obtain boats of better sea-going qualities and higher speed. Thus it happens that to-day Germany possesses twenty-one modern cruisers of medium size, capable of being employed either as scouts for the battle-fleet or for the purpose of attacking commerce, besides fifteen older ones. Four other vessels, rather larger than any hitherto built, are now under construction; and from now onwards until 1917, the keels of two more cruisers will be laid down annually.

While we may congratulate ourselves upon the absence
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of such vessels in the constructive programmes of other foreign Powers, it is impossible to ignore the steady progress which is being made by the German naval authorities, in the provision of ships of this very swift and consequently dangerous type. The Admiralty have recognised this fact. For a period of eleven years there was an almost complete cessation in the building of cruisers for the British fleet; and the example set by the British authorities is no doubt partly responsible for the course adopted by other countries. At that epoch, the decision of the Admiralty was thoroughly justified, owing to the large number of such vessels which we possessed. Between 1889 and 1897 eighty cruising ships had been added to the British fleet; and these vessels continued to serve our need for the time being. Then, owing to the improvement in the manufacture of armour, it was found possible to design ships of high speed with an armoured belt, instead of a thin protective deck. Between 1897 and 1905 thirty-five of these first-class armoured cruisers were incorporated in the fleet, which thus came to possess a total strength of 115 cruising ships of various types. For the time being, this force was ample. During the past five years, however, all the forty-two cruisers provided under the Naval Defence Act, and not a few of those constructed in the early nineties, have become obsolete. In view of this loss, and the active policy pursued by Germany, the Admiralty have lately resumed the construction of ships of this type; and we now have built or building fourteen vessels of the 'City' class—ships of about 5000 tons displacement; while, in addition, four unprotected cruisers have been laid down for use as 'mother' ships with the destroyer flotillas. It has always been admitted that the two-power standard does not apply to cruisers, owing to the widely-distributed character of the Empire, the predominance of British shipping, and our dependence upon the sea for raw material and food. Owing to the obsolescence of many of the ships upon which hitherto reliance has been placed, and to the action of Germany in methodically adding two cruisers a year to her navy, the Admiralty cannot well rest content with fewer than five or six ships a year for some time to come. Only thus can adequate provision be made for the needs of the battle-fleets and the demand for commerce protection.

In the matter of torpedo-boat destroyers, we still have considerable leeway to make up. Many of our older though still effective destroyers were built for service in the Channel, and have proved unsuited to the North Sea. They can still be employed for subsidiary purposes, more particularly in connexion with the mobile defence organisation on the coasts which the Admiralty have created during the past few years. For general service a larger and more seaworthy type is required. This need has been admitted by the naval authorities. Some six or seven years ago, before Lord Fisher had recognised the necessity of training the fleet in the North Sea, the destroyers then being built were of only 300 to 400 tons displacement. Such craft were admirably suited to the conditions of service which the Admiralty foresaw at that time. With the change in the sphere of naval activity from southern to northern waters, the demand for vessels of high freeboard and good sea-keeping qualities has been recognised; and destroyers of from 750 to 1000 tons have been built. Nevertheless the First Lord's statement (July 13, 1910) that in May, 1912, we should have, including the current year's programme, only 124 of this particular type of vessel complete, to 110 possessed by Germany, indicates the urgent need for further constructive effort. In the next seven years, in accordance with the Navy Law, Germany will lay down 12 of these vessels each year, or 84 in all. If the British authorities continue their recent policy of including 20 destroyers annually in the British programmes, the respective totals in 1918 will be 264 to 194. The actual effective strength will be more in our favour than these figures indicate, as at that date a proportion of the older craft now under the German ensign will have become obsolete, while all the 124 existing British vessels, which are of more recent construction, will still be thoroughly serviceable. Since we possess 36 coastal destroyers of from 247 to 310 tons, launched between 1906 and 1908, thoroughly efficient vessels for their size, and since we have, moreover, a decided lead in large sea-going submarines, a batch of 20 destroyers a year, with 8 or 10 under-water craft, should meet the requirements of the fleet, provided there is no further development in the Mediterranean such as

would call for the despatch to those waters of a large British flotilla of new boats.

Over and above the essential outlay upon armoured ships, cruisers and torpedo vessels, the authorities are faced with the necessity of increasing the personnel and providing the huge ships of the present day with suitable dock accommodation. In the estimates for the present year, power was taken to enter 3000 additional men. Next year the Admiralty can hardly rest satisfied unless the numbers are again augmented by a similar number, since we are approaching a date when the strength of the seagoing fleets and of the flotillas in home waters will have to be largely increased. Indeed, the manning of the Navy six or seven years hence will present to the Admiralty a problem of some difficulty. We shall then have a standing fleet of unparalleled size, and a very large number of ships with nucleus crews. It will only be possible to maintain the present efficient war-mobilisation scheme if considerable additions are made to the number of short service men—that is, men who serve five years 'with the colours' and afterwards seven years in reserve. Only thus can the authorities obtain a trained and readily available reserve force. Longshoremen, fishermen and merchant-sailors no longer meet the needs of a fighting navy. The modern battleship, with its 100 or more engines, requires [a new type of man. The Navy must now enter and train its own reserves; and only by recourse to a system of short service can this be done. Naval officers, it is true, do not like the short-service hands. They are not equal to the men entered for long service, but they should be superior to the naval conscript abroad—to those of Germany, for instance. In the German fleet, 70 per cent. of the men serve only three years before passing into the reserve; whereas no man is entered for the British fleet for less than five years' active service. We cannot man the fleet to full strength in an emergency and replace the casualties of war, unless a large reserve is provided; and there is no better method of meeting this need than the entry of a limited proportion of short-service men, who, before they pass into reserve, learn the duties which they would have to perform if suddenly called up.

It is well to recall, in conclusion, that the fleet still

stands in heavy need of docks. At present, as the German Navy League proudly boasts, Germany is better equipped than England in respect of docking accommodation for the largest vessels. The importance of this fact, considerable enough in time of peace, is of extraordinary magnitude in case of war. The German Navy already possesses five completed dry docks capable of taking the largest vessels, two at Kiel and three at Wilhelmshaven. A floating dock of a capacity of 40,000 tons is under construction at the Howaldt works at Kiel. In addition to these Admiralty docks, there are the privately-owned 'Kaiser Dock' at Bremerhaven, and the Blohm and Voss 35,000-ton floating dock at Hamburg. There are also under construction a second dock at Bremerhaven, and a 35,000-ton floating dock at the new Vulcan works at Hamburg. In contrast with this splendid equipment of the German Fleet, the British Navy possesses in home waters only one single war harbour with adequate docking facilities for Dreadnoughts—namely, Devonport, which has three large docks; and Devonport is 300 miles distant from the North Sea. The only other Admiralty dock capable of taking a Dreadnought is at Portsmouth; and, as the Admiralty admit, the number of days, including night-tides, on which it is possible for ships of the Dreadnought class to reach it, average only $14\frac{1}{2}$ per month at normal docking draught, and three times throughout the year at average cruising draught. A dock which can be used by ships at cruising draught on only three days in the year is practically worthless. In addition, two 32,000-ton floating docks are building for the Government—one for Portsmouth and one for the Medway.

Fortunately there are already indications that the Admiralty are giving this matter of docks increased attention. The plans for the Rosyth base are now undergoing careful revision in view of the increase in the size of ships which has occurred since they were first drawn up. In the course of the naval debate on the shipbuilding vote in the House of Commons shortly before the adjournment, Mr McKenna mentioned that the work at Rosyth had now reached such a stage that it had become desirable to make the necessary preparation for the foundation of the second dock, which had always been

part of the original scheme. At the same time work is proceeding upon the two new docks at Portsmouth and Haulbowline. Unfortunately, even this provision of six docks—including the two floating docks—will not meet the requirements of the Navy three years hence, when it will have twenty-five ships of the Dreadnought type in commission. It is evident that, in the new estimates, provision must be made still further to increase the accommodation for such leviathans. While the seven private docks—only one of which is on the east coast—form a valuable reserve, it is open to question whether they will all be available in time of emergency, owing to the fact that they were not constructed to suit naval requirements; and the work of repair would, in any case, be carried out under great difficulties, owing to the absence of suitable workshops and, in many cases, the inaccessibility of trained labour. Now that the Admiralty have finally determined that Jarrow Slake is unsuitable for a floating dock, the question arises whether the authorities could not make arrangements with Messrs Armstrong, Whitworth and Co., under which that firm would, for an annual subsidy, construct a large dock at the new yard which they are now laying out lower down the Tyne. A large dock at this point on the coast would prove very valuable to the Navy in time of war.

Such, then, are the urgent needs of the British fleet in ships, in men, and in docks, in face of the rapid expansion of foreign navies, and particularly that of Germany; and it is at this moment that a new conspiracy against our supremacy is being organised. In the story of British sea-power there was never an action more fraught with peril to everything which the people of the Empire hold dear than this attempt to prove an antagonism between security and social reform. Only by energetic counter-action, by a lucid reiteration of the lessons of history, and particularly of Prussian history, by a recital of the measures now being taken to expand rival fleets, and by a temperate effort to apply to ourselves the warnings which recent events have suggested of the influence of armaments on European policy—only thus can this conspiracy against our naval supremacy be defeated.

In the most favourable circumstances the next few years must prove a period of difficulty. New and onerous

charges on the Exchequer have been created, in pursuance of the policy of the present Government; and these charges—for Old-Age Pensions, Labour Exchanges, and other social reforms—are of such a nature that they must have precedence over even the claims of defence. The labour-market is in a state of unrest. All the ship-yards in the United Kingdom may, at any moment, be closed in consequence of some trivial and sectional dispute between employers and employed; and naval construction may be brought to a standstill, as it was in 1897, with results which were apparent for two or three years afterwards. We are menaced by dangers on every hand; and only by a policy of energetic concentration on the defensive measures vital to a sea-divided Empire can we hope to overcome the forces, at home and abroad, which assail us.

On the most vital of all political questions the nation looks to its political leaders for guidance, and so far has looked in vain. There is now no accepted standard of naval strength. Whichever party had been in power, the two-power standard would probably have been abandoned as unsuited to the new international and naval situation. But the complaint against the Liberal party is that, being in office and responsible for the Navy, it has allowed the traditional standard to drop without substituting for it a new one. In all recent discussions the comparison of strength has been based not on the fleets of two Powers, but on the fleet of one Power only; and Ministers have congratulated themselves on being able to show a shadowy superiority three years hence in the most efficient ships over one rival navy. Even in face of such a confession the Unionist leaders have so far been content with criticism on details; and the broad issue, the need of a new standard, has been ignored. The country wants a new rule-of-thumb formula, such as that of 'two keels to one,' which every inexperienced layman can understand and interpret in terms of ships, men, and docks. Throughout the country anxiety exists—an anxiety which would be acute if the gravity of the crisis were appreciated. Surely the time has come when the Unionist leaders should speak out lucidly and strongly, letting it be understood that, until the future of the fleet is assured in sufficiency and efficiency—in short, on a

'two keels to one' basis—all subsidiary measures of defence must be postponed. The maintenance of the fleet is the dominating political issue to a people who live by the sea, and to an empire which can exist only so long as its sea-communications are defended in adequate strength.

We stand in want of a great educational movement, in order that we, as a nation, may appreciate the extent of our heritage, and how we may retain it. Mr Corbett's fascinating record of the Trafalgar Campaign and Mr Roosevelt's History of the War of 1812-15 are two of several recent volumes which ought to be in the hands of every person professing to take an interest in Imperial problems. They throw fresh light on the new perils with which we are threatened, by reminding us of the old perils with which our forefathers contended successfully; and they serve to enforce the essential lesson of all British history, that, as did our past, so does our future lie on the sea. Adequate sea-defences have a permanent claim on all peoples under the British flag; and those defences must be prepared in advance. Naval power cannot be improvised. To build an armoured ship takes two or three years from the date when Parliamentary sanction is obtained; six years are required to educate a junior officer, and almost as long to train a skilled naval seaman. Only by foresight and by generous financial provision allied with economical administration can we preserve our heritage. As Mr Roosevelt has reminded us, 'it is a very old truth, though one which many legislators seem slow to learn, that no courage and skill on the part of sea-officers can atone for insufficiency in the number, and inefficiency in the quality, of ships.' This is the appointed time for a national movement towards a clearer perception of the meaning of sea-power to us of all the peoples of the world. With the instruments of war we plan to-day must we be prepared to fight a few years hence, when the Triple Alliance will have combined great fleets with its vast armies, and when every rival navy will show the results of the present prodigal expenditure.

Art. 12.—THE POSITION OF TRADE UNIONS.

1. Reports of the judgments given in the Osborne case by the Court of Appeal (Nov. 28, 1908), and by the House of Lords (Dec. 21, 1909).
2. Reports of the proceedings of the Trade Union Congress at Sheffield (September, 1910).
3. Reports in the Daily Press of Labour disputes in various parts of Great Britain.
4. *Report of the Board of Trade upon Conciliation and Arbitration Boards*, 1910 [Cd. 5346].
5. *Report of the Board of Trade upon Strikes and Lock-outs*, 1910 [Cd. 5325].

ONE of the most puzzling of recent industrial developments is the sudden outbreak of indiscipline among large bodies of Trade Unionists. Men in well-organised trades, subject to definite agreements for the settling of disputes by means of conciliation, and if necessary by arbitration, have suddenly thrown down their tools, ignoring their agreements and defying their leaders. At the same time there have been ugly scenes of violence, recalling some of the worst incidents of the early days of Trade Unionism. It seems as if the Trade Union movement had suddenly stepped back a generation, and as if the progress achieved in the last thirty years had been temporarily blotted out. Various theories have been put forward to account for this phenomenon, but it is doubtful whether any of the theories are capable of precise demonstration. All that can be safely said is that these symptoms of unrest have followed upon a persistent Socialist agitation among the working classes, and that there is plausible ground for believing that the unrest is partly the result of that agitation.

The Socialist agitation operates in two ways. Its first purpose is to create a feeling not merely of discontent, but of passionate revolt. Working men are taught that they are the victims of a systematic and unceasing robbery; that the wealth which they produce is filched from them; and that the capitalist is their worst enemy, who will crush them unless they crush him. Such teaching does not tend to create that conciliatory temper which is requisite if practical grievances with regard to

hours and conditions of work are to be settled amicably. In addition, a considerable section of the Socialist party is frankly contemptuous of Trade Unionism, and holds that the only way to secure progress is to gain control of the power of the State, and to use that power for the benefit of the working classes. So far as this doctrine is accepted, it shakes the faith of the working classes in their own Trade Unions, and disposes them to treat as negligible the advice of leaders who, while waiting for the social revolution, wish to make the best of Trade Union methods.

Thus the Socialist leaders themselves suffer from the results of their own teaching, for, though they condemn Trade Unionism as a played-out force, they have a very keen sense of the value of discipline, and it does not at all suit them to see the rank and file defying authority. Indeed, one of the most serious difficulties with which Trade Union leaders—most of whom are now Socialists—have to contend is the jealousy which the ordinary workman feels of his elected leaders. Not only is there always some rival waiting for an opportunity to step into the leader's shoes, but throughout the general body of the society there is an undercurrent of feeling that the leader who wears broadcloth and sits in an office or in the House of Commons has got an unduly soft job at the expense of the ordinary workman who has every day to go to the pit or the mill. This feeling finds open expression whenever the leaders advise a course which at the moment is unpopular; and the doctrine of universal equality then recoils somewhat unpleasantly on those who have been busily teaching it.

Another factor in the present situation is the recent establishment of Labour Exchanges, managed by the Board of Trade under the authority of an Act of Parliament, and with funds supplied from the National Exchequer. Until these exchanges were established, almost the only machinery for assisting masters to obtain workmen was that created by the Trade Unions. As soon as a member of a Union is out of a job, he reports himself at the Trade Union office; and, when an employer wants more hands, it is to that office that he generally sends. This well-understood system naturally operates so as to give the Unionist a better chance of

obtaining employment than the non-Unionist, and thus helps to strengthen the control of the Union over the trade, and in particular to enable it to cut off the supply of labour to an employer whose men are on strike. The new Government Exchanges of necessity ignore the distinction between Unionists and non-Unionists; nor can they take cognisance of a strike to the extent of refusing to send workmen to an employer who makes due application. The Trade Unions consequently find themselves threatened with a dangerous rivalry in a business of which they have hitherto possessed almost a monopoly. The seriousness of the alarm they feel can be gathered from the strong resolution passed at the Trade Union Congress in condemnation of the Labour Exchanges. The situation has its humorous side, for the proposal to establish Government Labour Exchanges received the warm support of the Labour party in the House of Commons; and the distribution of patronage in connexion with their establishment was entrusted to a committee of which Mr Shackleton, M.P., was a prominent member.

A somewhat similar situation has arisen in connexion with the Workmen's Compensation Act. This Act was intended to lead to the establishment of a system of insurance at the cost of the employer, which would enable a workman struck down by the disaster of an accident to obtain reasonable compensation. That intention has been fairly well attained, but in addition it has been found that the Act operates to exclude the more elderly men from employment, because the insurance companies ask for higher premiums to cover the greater risk of accident. Bitter complaints of these unforeseen, but easily foreseeable, results are being made all over the country, and found expression at the Trade Union Congress.

Of even greater importance to the position of Trade Unions than the matters already enumerated is the determination of a very active section of the Socialists to obtain, if possible, authority from Parliament to use the funds of the Trade Unions for the maintenance of the Labour party in the House of Commons. The issues here involved are constitutional as well as industrial. The constitutional aspects will be dealt with presently.

but it is desirable first to point out the bearing of the Osborne judgment on the position of Trade Unions. That judgment is based upon the view that Trade Unions are industrial and not political organisations, and that the two purposes are so dissimilar that it is illegal to use the funds of a Trade Union for such purely political objects as the maintenance of Members of Parliament. The Socialists who control the Labour Party deny that Trade Unions are non-political bodies. Their view is that the Trade Unions are bodies existing for the benefit of the working class; that the working class can only be benefited through the action of the State; and that therefore it is the business of Trade Unions to obtain political power.

Incidentally it may be remarked that this is not the view of all Socialists. There is a body entitled the 'Socialist Labour party,' with an organ of its own called the 'Socialist.' In the September issue of this paper is a very interesting signed article criticising the Miners' Eight Hours Act from the Socialist point of view, and laying down the policy of this group of Socialists. After stating that the Labour leaders and the members of the Independent Labour Party and of the Social Democratic Party have only one cry—'Send us to Parliament and we will emancipate you,' the article continues:

'Summed up, this cry means that political action is all-sufficient to emancipate the working class. It is a denial of the function of the Union. The Socialist Labour Party holds that the emancipation of the workers can only be achieved by the workers themselves; that it cannot be brought about by a bunch of office-holders; that it cannot be the result of legislative enactment.'

Whether this 'Socialist Labour Party' is numerically important, or not, the present writer has no means of knowing; but, in any case, the above quotation is interesting as evidence that even in the Socialist ranks there are critics of the doctrine that the effective advancement of the working classes can only come through political action.

Nor does the acceptance of this doctrine carry with it the further proposition that Trade Unions are justified in embarking upon political action. And here again it is interesting to note that there is a difference of opinion

among the Socialists themselves. The 'New Age,' which is without exception the most ably written of all the Socialist papers, in its issue of September 22, 1910, thus sums up its arguments upon the Osborne case :—

'Does all this mean that in our view Trade Unions should cease to engage in any direct political action? Undoubtedly it does, and we are prepared to stand by it. Have we not for the past three years been urging the Unions to stick to their last, and to work industrially, leaving other organisations to cover the political field?'

Mr Victor Grayson, whose real intellectual ability has been overshadowed by the incendiary folly of some of his speeches, is equally emphatic in supporting the Osborne judgment against the attack of the Labour Party. In a signed editorial in the 'Clarion' of September 23, 1910, Mr Grayson points out that, until quite recently, the watchword in all Trade Unions was 'No politics;' and that it is, therefore, absurd to pretend that, 'when these organisations were registered as Trade Unions, they were registered on the understanding that their funds might be used for the financing of an independent political party.' His conclusion is that Socialist Members of Parliament ought to 'depend for the sinews of war upon Socialist support, instead of as at present subsisting upon grudging and unfairly extorted money. The thing is cleaner and more dignified.'

These arguments state very clearly the fundamental issues involved; but the Labour Party will not readily let go the large funds over which it has obtained control. By whatever means men obtain command of wealth, they are always reluctant to part with it; and the members of the Labour Party can at least claim that it is by their own brains and hard work that they have secured possession of the funds which maintain them in Parliament. They have cleverly pursued the Fabian policy of 'permeation' till they have succeeded in gaining almost complete control of the Trade Unions, and are able to profess that their voice is the voice of millions of working men. The ability which has enabled them to achieve this success is not likely to fail them now that they have to fight on the defensive.

Already it is clear that they have captured a

considerable section of the Liberal Party, which is willing to allow itself to be deluded by what in other circumstances every Liberal would describe as glaring sophistries. Of these the most effective is the contention that, as Trade Unions exist to benefit the working classes, and as—in the opinion of some people—the best method of securing that benefit is through Parliament, Trade Union funds may justly be spent in maintaining Members of Parliament. Let us apply a very simple test to this argument. Suppose that a working-class club is started to benefit its members by providing them with facilities for playing cricket. Such a club clearly exists to benefit working men; the benefit of the working classes is best obtained through political action; therefore the funds of the club may be used to maintain Members of Parliament. This is only a fair paraphrase of the argument used by the Labour Party and its supporters. Trade Unions are associations established to benefit the members by providing them with facilities for collective bargaining, and for accumulating funds to meet periods of unemployment or of sickness. It may have been, from the Socialist point of view, quite foolish for working men to establish such Unions; they ought instead to have formed Socialist societies for the purpose of political agitation. But they happen not to have done so. They formed Trade Unions and not Socialist societies. 'Never mind,' say the Socialists; 'with our superior understanding of your interests we propose to use your funds for our purposes.'

The judges of the land have very prosaically decided that this cannot be done. When a society has been formed for a specific purpose, it is illegal for the governing body of the society to divert the corporate funds to another purpose, or to compel the members under pain of expulsion to subscribe for some other purpose. Unless this rule of law prevailed, we should quickly lose one of the most valuable of our liberties—freedom of association; for no man would be willing to join a society if he knew that a chance majority of the members could at any moment change its objects to something entirely disconnected with the purposes for which he joined. It may be argued that it is his business to exert himself and keep the majority on his side. Not at all! When a man joins, let us say, a chess club, he joins for the purpose of

playing chess; and it is unjust to him that he should be expected to spend his days and nights canvassing among his fellow-members, lest a chance majority should decide to spend the club funds in converting Jews to Christianity. The Law Courts exist to protect individual rights, including the right of association for specific and limited purposes. In the case of Trade Unions the purposes are admittedly somewhat vague, and therefore a legitimate difference of opinion may exist as to whether the maintenance of Members of Parliament can be brought within the limit; but this point has now been authoritatively settled by the decision of the Court of Appeal, confirmed by the House of Lords. The question with which we are here concerned is the effect that the reversal of this decision by Act of Parliament would have on the position of Trade Unions.

Of necessity, such action by Parliament would emphasise the political character which Trade Unions have of late years been acquiring. It would mean the definite victory within the Unions of the political party which holds that the working classes have to look to Parliament for their advancement. A considerable number of Trade Unionists who are strongly opposed to this view would probably break away from the Unions, even at the price of losing benefits for which they had paid and endangering their opportunity of earning a livelihood. The main strength of the Unions would then be devoted, under Socialist direction, to political work. What line the Socialists would take in dealing with the primary business of the Trade Unions, namely, negotiations with employers, is not certain. It would depend upon what they considered at the moment expedient for the advancement of the Socialist cause. At times it might suit the Socialist book to adopt a very conciliatory attitude towards employers, and to explain to the men that the necessity for conciliation proved the futility of Trade Union methods. At other times it might be more profitable to let loose the dogs of war in order to stimulate that class hatred which is ever the most strident note in the Socialist symphony. But, whatever policy were adopted on each occasion, its selection would be determined not by the interests of the Union, but by those of the Socialist party. It might, for example, often happen that, while in

the interests of the Union a peaceful settlement of some dispute was eminently desirable, the candidature of some Socialist politician would be advanced by a strike. The men concerned would be told that they must suffer for the good of the cause; and protests would be useless in face of the well-established Socialist tyranny.

It is hardly necessary to point out that this means a complete change in the character of Trade Unionism. Hitherto Trade Unions have been sectional organisations for the defence of limited groups of workmen. So marked is this sectional character that many of the strikes which occur each year are due to disputes between rival Trade Unions. To the onlooker this may appear foolish, but to the men themselves such disputes are perfectly intelligible, and are fully in accordance with the general spirit of Trade Unionism. The Society of Boilermakers, for example, exists to protect the interests of boilermakers, not for the general advancement of the manual workers of the United Kingdom; and, when boilermakers find engineers employed in making boilers, they naturally resent such an intrusion upon their sphere of employment. In exactly the same way barristers would resent the appearance of solicitors as pleaders before the High Court or Court of Appeal. Whether this spirit is right or wrong is not now the question; the point is that this spirit is the basis of Trade Unionism.

The basis of Socialism is totally different. In the conception of the Socialists, the interests of all workers, intellectual as well as manual, are identical; the one enemy is the capitalist. The Socialist aspires to destroy private ownership of capital in the alleged interest of all workers; the Trade Unionist aims at utilising private ownership for the exclusive benefit of his particular trade. The Socialist says that he is prepared to regulate everybody's industry for everybody's benefit; the Trade Unionist wants to organise his own trade so that he and his trade brothers may effectively fight for their interests against the rest of the community. Socialism, in a word, is universal collectivism; Trade Unionism is a kind of corporate individualism.

Between these two conceptions there is no common ground. The superficial likeness which arises from the fact that both movements are largely concerned with

the interests of manual workers disappears on closer investigation. Many Trade Unions, indeed most, are deliberately and consciously working against the interests of manual workers outside the particular trade concerned; and some of their regulations press with great severity upon other workers. For example, the rule in many skilled trades limiting the number of apprentices that a master may take, though doubtless beneficial to the men already in the trade, is very hard upon the sons of unskilled workmen, who are debarred from the opportunity of rising. The Socialists, on the other hand, profess to be equally solicitous for the advancement of all classes of workers, including those who live by their brains; and it is significant that many of the leaders of the Socialist movement are men who have never been manual workers. How Socialists are to reconcile these expressions of universal philanthropy with loyalty to Trade Unionism it is not easy to see.

Take, for example, coal-miners. Their wages in most districts depend upon a sliding scale, which in turn depends upon the price of coal. Circumstances may easily arise in which it will become their interest to reduce the output of coal in order to keep up prices. That is an injury to all the rest of the community. To some industries, e.g. the steel trade, the injury caused by an increase in the price of coal may be so serious as to wipe out all profit and bring the industry to a standstill, with the consequent discharge of the workpeople previously employed. The coal-miner who is merely a Trade Unionist can fairly say to these sufferers:—‘I am very sorry for your misfortune, but my business is to look out for myself and my own trade. You cannot expect me to continue to get coal at what I consider inadequate wages in order to provide you with work.’ The Socialist cannot make any such answer. The range of his vision extends over the whole industrial system; and coal-consumers are just as dear to his heart as coal-producers. He must aim at being fair to both, but he has no means of ascertaining whether the wages demanded by the coal-miners are unfairly high in relation to the legitimate interests of the steel-smelters. One or the other must be sacrificed; and the Socialist has no principle to guide him in deciding between the two.

The Trade Unionist has a very simple principle—the principle of self-interest. It may not lend itself to rhetoric about the brotherhood of man, but it does produce a solution. If the miners hold out for too high a wage in relation to the wages earned in other industries, they will imperil their own position by making mining an exceptionally attractive occupation. Men from other occupations will then try to obtain employment as coal-miners; and it will be very difficult in face of their competition to keep up the rate of wages. There is thus an automatic check upon the too extortionate demands of any particular section of the community. It is not suggested that this automatic check always works smoothly and perfectly. The great industrial machine, driven with the motive power of self-interest, is often clogged with the grit of human passion; and it is amid tears and suffering as well as amid shouts of triumph that the wheels go round. But they do go round; and the machine is ever working to adjust the relationships between different industries in accordance with the personal judgments of the individuals concerned.

In this conflict between industries it is to be noticed that the interests of the employers and employees are in the first instance identical. Both want their industry to obtain the best terms it can from the rest of the community; they only quarrel about their respective shares of the total. Trade Unionism, in fact, presupposes what has been well called a 'vertical stratification' of society; Socialism, on the other hand, assumes a 'horizontal stratification,' with all the employers on the upper layer and all the employees below. How this essential divergence between Trade Unionism and Socialism works out in practice can be very clearly shown by contrasting the declared objects of a typical Trade Union with the declared objects of the Labour Party.

'Objects of Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants as defined in the rules of the Society up to 1902.

'The objects of the Society shall be to improve the condition and protect the interests of its members: to endeavour to obtain and maintain reasonable hours of duty and fair rates of wages: to promote a good understanding between employers and employed, the better regulation of their rela-

tions, and the settlement of disputes between them by arbitration, or, failing arbitration, by other lawful means: to provide temporary assistance to members when out of employment through causes over which they have no control, or through unjust treatment: to provide legal assistance when necessary in matters pertaining to the employment of members or for securing compensation for members who suffer injury by accidents in their employment occasioned by the negligence of their employer, or of those for whom their employer is liable: to aid the young orphan children of all members: and to use every effort to provide for the safety of railway work and of railway travelling. Also to provide a grant of money in case of members permanently disabled or killed by accident, or when by reason of old age they cannot follow their regular employment. Also to enable such members as voluntarily desire it to provide funds for their relief in sickness or temporary disablement, and for their respectable interment.'

'Objects of the Labour Party as defined at the Hull Conference in 1908.'

'That in the opinion of this Conference the time has arrived when the Labour Party should have as a definite object the socialisation of the means of production, distribution and exchange, to be controlled by a Democratic State in the interest of the entire community: and the complete emancipation of Labour from the domination of Capitalism and Landlordism with the establishment of social and economic equality between the sexes.'

It will be seen that while the expressed object of the Trade Unionist is to maintain friendly relations with the capitalist, the object of the Socialist is to destroy capitalism altogether. Therefore the capture of the Trade Unions by the Socialists must necessarily mean the introduction of new methods of determining Labour disputes. In place of the action taken by individual trades for their individual benefit, there will be an attempt to mobilise the whole wage-earning population against the whole employer class. Already, indeed, the beginnings of this policy have for some time been visible. The 'sympathetic strike' is essentially a socialistic conception, though it may often be inspired rather by that vague spirit of revolt against the rich, upon which Socialists always trade, than by a conscious belief that the interests

of wage-earners in all trades can be advanced by a combined attack upon capital. It is hardly necessary to point out that this method of dealing with Labour disputes must enormously widen the area of conflict and the area of suffering.

Other causes unfortunately contribute to a similar enlargement of this area. The wide extension of the Trade Union movement has rendered necessary a corresponding movement among employers. They have been compelled to federate to save themselves from being crushed in detail by powerful unions of workmen. This Trade Union movement among employers is not only inevitable, but up to a certain point it is beneficial. It has to a considerable extent got rid of the personal element, which always counts for much in Labour disputes, and has enabled representatives of masters and men to meet in conference under conditions which compel mutual courtesy. At such conferences, disputes affecting many firms and large numbers of workpeople are settled amicably. Nothing, indeed, is more satisfactory than the progress made in the last few years towards the general settlement of Labour disputes by conciliatory methods; and this progress would hardly have been possible if masters as well as men had not been organised in powerful unions. There is, however, another side to the matter. The very magnitude of these federations, embracing, as some of them do, the whole of the United Kingdom, makes it impossible for them to give that detailed attention to local disputes which is necessary for prompt and satisfactory settlement. In the recent conflict in the shipbuilding industry this consideration seems to have been of very great weight. The boilermakers complain, and apparently with justice, that, though the 'National Agreement' of 1909 provides means for the settlement of all disputes, so much delay occurs that the men lose patience. This is one of the evils that always arise when the scale of operations is so magnified as to dwarf the individual human being.

An even more serious evil makes itself felt when the men's Trade Unions on the one hand, and the masters' federation on the other, instead of coming to terms, come to blows. In such an event purely local disputes may be magnified into great national struggles. A

few boilermakers in one or two shipbuilding yards in the North of England lay down their tools because of some local quarrel, thus violating their agreement that all disputes should be dealt with by an organised system of conciliation. The federated employers throughout the shipbuilding trade respond by locking out all the members of the Boilermakers' Union, including thousands of men who were in no way concerned in this particular quarrel. Again, in Lancashire, when the cardroom hands employed in one mill struck because of a dispute affecting one man, the Federated Cotton Spinners replied by threatening a general lock-out estimated to affect directly 150,000 persons, and indirectly 350,000. The large majority of these persons were entirely innocent of any participation in the original dispute, and most of them had no means of assisting in its termination; yet the method used by the employers to coerce the few offenders imposes upon thousands of innocent persons a very heavy punishment.

There must be something wrong in a system of industrial organisation which leads to the punishment of the innocent upon a vast scale because of some small local quarrel. The people who with apparent light-heartedness embark upon these vast conflicts seem to forget the human suffering involved—the empty firegrate and the bare table, and the daily agony of seeing little faces pinched with hunger and hearing little voices crying in vain for food. That is what it all comes back to. The improvement of industrial organisation will not save the individual from having to pay the price of industrial war. 'The sins that ye do by two and two, ye must pay for one by one.'

If the aspirations of the Labour party are realised, this system of wholesale industrial war will be immensely extended. There are even Socialists who are mad enough to talk of a universal strike as a means of bringing capitalists to their knees, forgetting that this colossal folly, were it possible, would be infinitely more painful to the poor who live from hand to mouth than to the rich who, with their ample reserves, could quickly organise for themselves a supply of the necessaries of life. It cannot be too often repeated that the whole policy of the Socialists is to attack the institution of

private property in the means of production ; and Socialist control of the Trade Unions must therefore mean a greater bitterness in the relations between capital and labour, and a widening of the area of conflict. Difficulties which might be settled by a friendly talk between master and man, each recognising that up to a certain point their interests are identical, will be utilised as an excuse for provoking the clash of two great armies.

So far, then, as the purely industrial aspects of the problem are concerned, nothing but harm can result from engrafting on to the Trade Union movement the political aspirations of the Socialist party. There is, in addition, the important consideration of the effect of the reversal of the Osborne judgment upon our whole system of parliamentary government. At present our parliamentary system rests upon the theory that Members of Parliament are trustees for the nation. They are chosen, it is true, by particular constituencies, and there is a necessary obligation upon each member to give special consideration to the interests of his own constituency ; but that obligation is subordinate to the primary duty of considering the national welfare. Some members doubtless at times transpose the order of these two obligations. For example, members for dockyard constituencies will frequently be found supporting the demands of dockyard employees without regard to the effect of those demands upon the national exchequer. But such action, though common, is condemned by the public feeling of the House of Commons ; and the member who thus disregards his duty as a trustee in order to plead as an advocate is conscious that he is doing a discreditable thing. The theory of trusteeship for the nation is fully recognised even by those who temporarily disregard it in order to conciliate their constituents.

It will, however, clearly be impossible long to maintain this theory if organised bodies such as Trade Unions or commercial companies are free to hire the services of Members of Parliament. The men who were first sent to Parliament by the Trade Unions, men like Mr Burt and Mr Fenwick, fully accepted the theory that they, like all Members of Parliament, were trustees for the nation, and not the mere delegates of a section ; and they earned, in consequence, the esteem of all parties. But these earlier

Trade Union representatives were men of exceptional calibre, who in consequence of that very independence of judgment which the nation looks for in its legislators have aroused the bitter hostility of the Labour party. They were, moreover, only a handful in a House of 670 members, and could not, even if they had been inclined, establish a new code of parliamentary ethics. The position is totally altered when paid men are sent to the House of Commons in considerable numbers, avowedly to form a party of their own to which alone they will be responsible. A new atmosphere is then created, and new conceptions of duty are established. The explicit legalisation of such a system would imply the definite abandonment of the old theory of parliamentary representation and the substitution of a system under which each member would be responsible to his paymasters, and to his paymasters alone.

The serious consequences of such a change of outlook were discussed in April 1907 in the House of Commons in connexion with a slightly different issue. The London and North Western Railway had been spending money in support of one of the parties in a municipal election; and, in consequence of this action, Mr Trevelyan, who has since become a member of the Government, opposed the second reading of an ordinary railway bill promoted by that company on the ground that it was undesirable to confer 'increased powers on a railway company created by Act of Parliament which has subscribed out of its corporate funds to a party organisation.' In the course of the debate on April 25, 1907, Mr Lloyd George, who was then President of the Board of Trade, made it perfectly clear that he was opposed to any expenditure for political purposes by these statutory corporations, and expressed his approval of recent United States legislation forbidding statutory corporations to make any money contribution towards political objects. Whether the legislation referred to went far enough is doubtful, for in one of his recent speeches, reported in the 'Times' of September 1, 1910, Mr Roosevelt appears to have said:—

'It is necessary that laws should be passed to prohibit the use of corporate funds, directly or indirectly, for political purposes: it is still more necessary that such laws should be thoroughly enforced.'

That is the opinion of the most prominent of living Americans, who is now devoting the whole of his very considerable energy to trying to extirpate corruption from American politics.

Between statutory corporations and Trade Unions there is no distinction which is germane to the present issue. Both are bodies possessing statutory privileges: both control funds subscribed for other than political purposes; both include members who differ from one another in political views. This last point was strongly pressed in the debate on the London and North Western Railway Company's Bill above referred to. Liberal critics of that Company pointed out the unfairness of using, for the benefit of one political party, funds which were the joint property of persons of all shades of political opinion. Exactly the same consideration applies to Trade Unions, and is aptly illustrated by the debate and division in the Trade Union Congress at Sheffield upon the question of secular education. In spite of the protest of the Roman Catholic members of the Congress, the majority passed a resolution committing all Trade Unionists to a demand for the establishment of 'a national system of education under full popular control, free and secular, from the primary school to the university.' Under the operation of this resolution, money subscribed by Roman Catholic Trade Unionists will be used to promote a cause to which they are passionately opposed. Trade Unionists who object to such a use of their money are in even a worse position than shareholders of a company suffering from a like injustice; for the shareholders can always sell out, and sometimes at a profit, but the Trade Unionist who refuses to pay the Parliamentary levy for the advancement of a cause which he dislikes will, if the Osborne judgment be reversed, be expelled from his society and will thus forfeit valuable benefits for which he has paid, and may subsequently find as a non-Unionist that most avenues of employment are closed to him. It is difficult to understand how any politicians calling themselves Liberals can calmly contemplate such a violation of the primary liberties of the subject.

An almost equally serious objection to the proposed reversal of the Osborne judgment is the effect which it

must sooner or later have upon the conduct of Parliamentary elections. Among the privileges conferred upon Trade Unions by the Trade Disputes Act of 1906 is the very wide immunity from legal proceedings contained in section 4. The section is as follows :

'An action against a Trade Union, whether of workmen or masters, or against any members or officials thereof on behalf of themselves and all other members of the Trade Union for the recovery of damages in respect of any tortious act alleged to have been committed by or on behalf of the Trade Union, shall not be entertained by any court; provided that nothing in this section shall affect the liability of the trustees of such unions to be sued in the events provided for by the Trade Union Act, 1871, section 9.'

A typical example of a 'tortious act' is slander or libel. It follows that, if a Trade Union promotes the election of a candidate for Parliament, the members and agents of the Union will be free during the contest to slander or libel the opposing candidates with absolute impunity. Whether Parliament foresaw this possibility when the Trade Disputes Act was passed is doubtful, but it may safely be said that it was not the intention of Parliament that the privileges conferred upon Trade Unions by the Act should be used for such a purpose. The very magnitude of the privilege conferred by this clause implies that the use of the privilege must be limited to specific purposes. That indeed is the basis of one of the most important arguments used to condemn the expenditure of money by the London and North Western Railway for political purposes. It is rightly argued that a railway company, having obtained large privileges for specific purposes, must confine its operations to those purposes; but, unless the same rule is applied to the operations of Trade Unions, a very palpable injustice would arise. For a Trade Union of railway servants would be at liberty to spend money on political agitation, with the object of improving their position at the expense of the shareholders of the company, while the latter would be debarred from defending themselves by similar methods.

It is impossible that so grossly one-sided an arrangement could long continue; and, as a matter of fact, the

law already provides a way of escape. Employers who find themselves injured by the conversion of Trade Unions into political organisations can respond by establishing Trade Unions of their own which will have exactly the same privileges as those formed by the workmen. For the sake of greater precision it is worth while to quote the definition of a Trade Union in the Act of 1876 :—

'The term "Trade Union" means any combination, whether temporary or permanent, for regulating the relations between workmen and masters, or between workmen and workmen, or between masters and masters, or for imposing restrictive conditions on the conduct of any trade or business, whether such combination would or would not, if the principal Act had not been passed, have been deemed to have been an unlawful combination by reason of some one or more of its purposes being in restraint of trade.'

It will be seen from this definition, which still holds good, that the privileges of a Trade Union are not limited to associations of working men. Any group of persons acting in combination to regulate wages or prices or otherwise restrain trade can be registered as a Trade Union. It must therefore be clearly understood that the reversal of the Osborne judgment would open the door for the maintenance of Members of Parliament on a wholesale scale by groups of rich men with axes of their own to grind. That means a complete change in our whole conception of representative government. Hitherto the House of Commons has been very jealous of its reputation for financial purity. For generations it has not been even suggested that a member of the English House of Commons could be induced to sell his vote for hard cash on any question. It is now proposed to legalise a new system under which certain members, in return for so much a year, will sell their votes on all questions.

HAROLD COX.

Art. 13.—SPAIN AND THE VATICAN.

THE clerical problem in Spain, which has wrecked one Cabinet and raised another to European eminence, is commonly believed to be ripe for radical solution. Indeed, it is confidently asserted to be at the bottom of the national crisis which has broken out over the whole Peninsula; and foreign observers are now curious to see what further aspects the ailment will assume in the most Catholic country, and what specific remedies or palliatives will be applied to it. The diagnosis has been made by two Spanish Premiers, each of whom has prescribed a course of treatment for the malady; and the opinion of MM. Moret and Canalejas has been emphatically confirmed by their republican and socialist adversaries. All are agreed that the nation is sick almost unto death, and that its chief ailment is clerical cancer. But, while Señor Moret holds that the only efficacious remedy is an operation to extirpate the cancerous growth, Señor Canalejas, the present Prime Minister, is of opinion that less drastic means will effect a cure. He is convinced that restrictive laws against religious congregations, the taxation of their property, and the laicisation of the schools, will be adequate to the present requirements of the case. In accordance with this opinion he is drawing up his legislative programme amid the plaudits of democratic Europe. The only matter for discussion in Spain at the present moment is, which of the two schools of political medicine is right: that which calls for the dissolution of all religious communities, and the entire separation of Church and State—measures that involve a change in the Constitution; or that which deems sufficient those severe checks and impassable barriers which the State can apply without straining the Constitution or doing violence to the Concordat. The tracing of the symptoms to the organic malady is on all hands assumed to be correct; judgments do not begin to diverge until the treatment of the ailment comes up for discussion.

Now from this consensus of opinion we respectfully venture to differ. The diagnosis appears to have been hastily and arbitrarily arrived at; and the politicians who made it seem to have been swayed, unconsciously no

doubt, by irrelevant considerations. It is not suggested by a closer study of the symptoms, nor borne out by a more careful analysis of the history of the disease. That there is a clerical problem in Spain, no one acquainted with that country will deny. The statistics of the religious congregations there, the sums of money which they collect and distribute, the large share of the nation's commerce and industry which passes through their hands, their sharp and successful competition with professional tradesmen, leave no doubt on that point. Clericalism, in certain of its aspects, is therefore a real grievance, calling for immediate and efficacious remedies, which the State has it in its power to apply at any moment. But to pass from this moderate statement of a demonstrable fact to the sweeping proposition that it is the question of questions, to the solution of which all Spanish policy ought to be subordinate, is, it seems to us, to pass from the region of concrete facts to that of illusion.

Spain is in the throes of an ordeal from which, whatever the upshot, it will ultimately emerge a transformed nation. For the crisis is not ministerial, nor political, nor dynastic; it is largely of an economic character, intensified by national, political and dynastic elements. To simplify these complex issues by reducing them to one, and to label that one clericalism, is to misstate the problem. If Senor Canalejas were to break with the Vatican to-morrow, to dissolve all religious communities, to confiscate their property, and even to divorce the Church from the State, he would be able to announce the death of clericalism in Spain. But the palsy which has stricken his high-spirited and richly-endowed countrymen would continue unabated. Only one of the hydra's heads would have been severed from the body, and that the smallest of them all. The expulsion of the religious orders would not brighten the dismal outlook of the mining population around Bilbao. A rupture with the Vatican will not bring the nation, even by a hair's breadth, nearer to a solid educational reform. The disestablishment of the Church will not give a fillip to Spanish commerce and industry, or provide with constant sources of livelihood the numerous and restless section of the population which has neither settled income nor permanent employment, and is doomed

to live from hand to mouth. The roots of the evil from which Spain is suffering lie deeper. They have been nurtured by the easy-going temperament of the nation, by the world-renunciation taught by the Catholic faith, by the influence of unwise rulers, and perhaps, above all else, by the hegemony of morbid Castile, which has never been able to assimilate or fuse the heterogeneous national elements it formerly subdued.

This last aspect of the matter offers a fertile field for the philosophic historian, who will trace the baleful influence of diseased Castile upon the healthy organisms of Aragon, Catalonia, and Navarre, in political, social, economic and religious matters, from the Middle Ages down to the first decade of the twentieth century. He will show how in every department of Spanish life the mark of Castile stands out in plain relief, and in all cases it is the mark of the beast. He will point out that it was owing to the baleful action or inaction of its rulers that Spain became a political amalgam, an artificial entity, instead of a genuine organism characterised by natural growth. As there have been artificial languages, spoken by no people, but employed by a caste or a community, like Sanscrit in India or Pahlevi in medieval Persia, so there have been artificial nations. And of such nations Spain offers a striking example. It is hardly too much to assert that there has never been in reality a Spanish nation, but only an amalgam of ill-assorted communities, compacted merely by political force.

To this novel theory one may feel tempted to demur, on the strength of objections drawn from the patriotism evinced by Spaniards of all provinces during the foreign wars waged by Spain before and since the Armada, and from the unifying influence of a splendid literature, which is the outward and visible symbol of a great civilised and civilising nation. But the strength of these objections is deceptive. If we read contemporary chronicles, we find that the armies were recruited by pressure, that military service was at all times odious, and that the bulk of the people looked upon the military establishment of the Castilian monarchy with loathing. And of the literature something similar may be said. Apart from a few genial exceptions, the masterpieces of Spanish dramatists and novelists of the golden age of

literature mirror forth a life which was essentially artificial. Compare the average hero of the novel and the tragedy—the comedy is often much nearer to reality—and you will look in vain for his counterpart in the chronicles of the times. The historian must investigate provincial annals if he would acquaint himself with the centrifugal strivings and ideals, the customs and traditions, of the genuine social organisms that were constrained to live under the crown of Castile, and to adjust themselves to the needs of the artificial nation.

Many significant facts of the present day, on which politicians are not wont to dwell, point to the same conclusion. Local patriotism, for instance, is a characteristic of each province, of every district, of every parish; but national patriotism is lacking. We hear a great deal about 'regionalism' in Catalonia, which is sometimes called separatism, and contrasted with the public spirit evinced by every other province. As a matter of demonstrable fact, we are confronted with the same regionalism whithersoever we go. It prevails in Galicia, in Andalucia, in Murcia. In point of politico-social cohesiveness, the peoples of Spain are to-day what they were five or six centuries ago. Taking a lively interest in parish or country affairs, they display no taste, and therefore little capacity, for national politics.

This complete indifference of the Spanish people to national politics is one of the cardinal facts of the situation. Unless we understand it, we shall fail to grasp the complex problem with which the Cabinet is now endeavouring to grapple. Legally organised as a democracy with liberty of meeting, liberty of association, liberty of the press, and with universal manhood suffrage, the bulk of the nation eschews politics altogether. It is only when stirred to its depths by some unwonted event which touches everybody to the quick, that the people meddle directly with public affairs. A war to which it must sacrifice its sons, a new and irksome tax, can at any moment rouse the masses from their torpor, and sting them into seismic upheavals. Patriotic motives are powerless. In normal circumstances, national affairs are the preserve of a few thousands of individuals recruited from the ranks where economic conditions are least stable, and livelihood most precarious. These

politicians, composed of members of the so-called intellectual classes, and the proletariat, are the rough-hewers of the destinies of Spain. Beyond these layers, the people hold aloof from politics.

The Conservative Cabinet under Señor Maura set itself to remedy this disastrous condition of things. He drafted and carried (August, 1907) an Electoral Reform Bill based on two principles—the protection of the voter from undue influence on the part of the constituted authority, the protection of the community by compelling every elector to record his vote under pain of increased taxation in the case of a man of means, and of disqualification from public functions in the case of a member of the poorer classes. It is a noteworthy fact that this reform failed to attain the results which the legislator had in view. The reformer himself was mistaken in assuming that abstention from political activity was the consequence of intimidation on the part of professional agitators, who made it their business to exclude good and patriotic citizens from a share in governing the country. Events proved that this assumption was groundless; and together with it fell the reform based upon it. The people did not flock to the ballot-box. On the contrary, they stayed away, and incurred the penalties, which, however, were not enforced. On the first occasion the authorities, always prone in Spain to administer penal laws with indulgence, decided that the penalties were too severe for a first offence; and subsequently it was deemed illogical to enforce a law that had already fallen into desuetude. Moreover, the people who abstained from the elections were mainly elements of law and order; and professional politicians are not inclined to insist on such persons participating in public affairs.

Political absenteeism, therefore, is one of the salient phenomena of Spanish political life. The mass of the people is entirely indifferent to what goes on in the country, unless stung to action by sharp lesion of universal and individual interests. From this it follows that professional politicians conduct the affairs of the nation; and that they may pursue any course they list with impunity, so long as they refrain from demanding heavy sacrifices of men or money from the nation. These are the broad bases of Spanish politics, the postulates

from which everything else follows. These postulates explain, for instance, how it has come to pass that, since the outset, Spanish affairs have been transacted without the slightest regard for, or indeed conception of, national economy. The material life of the nation was ignored; it had no equivalent in terms of domestic or foreign politics; and, in consequence, the nation pined and decayed. It has been asserted that Spain was ruined by her discoveries beyond the seas and by her foreign wars; but this theory is not established. America supplied Spain with large sums of money and with large quantities of money's worth. It received nothing in return. Consequently the balance-sheet was in Spain's favour. As for the foreign wars waged at various times and for various purposes by the kings of the House of Austria, they were paid for either with American wealth, or else by the people in whose country the struggle was carried on. Spain was ruined by the consequences of inaction, heightened by such State follies as the expulsion of the Jews, the sacrifice of national industries to those of other countries subject to the Austrian crown, the utter neglect of public works, the abandonment of American trade to the commercial enterprise of England and Holland.

In the twentieth century, despite the vast improvements which have taken place in the economic condition of Spain, that contempt for the principle of national economy, which ruined the nation some centuries ago, continues to subsist. There is no system, no national criterion, no plan. Even statesmanlike acts in this domain, if ever they occur, are the result of chance. During the first six decades of the nineteenth century, which were marked by revolutions and civil war, there were attempts at legislation in this direction. The revolution of 1869, doctrinaire in its conception, was military in its accomplishment; and at no period did it even aim at a policy of economic reform. Liberty was its device, liberty for every one, everywhere, in everything, liberty of commerce, liberty of labour. But it was abstract liberty without resources material or spiritual. The restored monarchy, which, organised in 1875, was established on a constitutional base in 1876, evinced no further interest in matters economical than was requisite for balancing the State finances. It became painfully

apparent that the State must pay its debts, and also its employés, with regularity and without discrimination. As it could not adjust its expenditure to its revenue, it adjusted the resources of the country—which remained indifferent—to the needs of public order. Thus, although a reduction of the military budget seemed logical and urgent, the Government shrank from offending a body of men whose *pronunciamentos* had been so effective in the production of revolutions. The outlay on the clergy might also be cut down with advantage to nearly all concerned; but the Government could not venture to arouse the ire of the holy men who could stamp armies of Carlists out of the earth, and shatter the throne of King Alfonso. The Civil Service Budget might also be reduced, at least by a goodly number of sinecures, were it not that the restorers of the monarchical régime insisted on having their reward, besides which sops had to be kept on hand to be thrown to Carlists or republicans whenever danger threatened from either of these sources. Considerations of this nature were the sole contribution of the Restoration to national economy.

Circumstances, more puissant than man, raised Spain from the low economic level to which her rulers had dragged her down. The re-establishment of peace and order cleared the ground. Then came, about 1880, the crisis in the wine industry of France, which constrained French wine-growers to purchase large quantities of wine in Spain; and this favourable turn gave a definite direction to the economic efforts of the nation. Thousands of acres were planted with new vineyards; but no attempt was made to adjust the supply to the future demand. In an equally irrelevant way the Government began to protect a number of home industries, without paying the least heed to the state of the market or the conditions of success. The follies committed in this domain were incredible. Spain, for instance, possesses—perhaps it would be more correct to say possessed—vast mineral wealth, and in particular iron ore. It would have been feasible to create in the mining districts a lucrative metallurgic industry, which would have done for a part of the population what the Rhine industries have accomplished for Prussia. But in Spain nobody moved a finger for the purpose. On the contrary, the State

directed its best efforts to getting rid of the unmanufactured material, which was exported in immense quantities, and to importing iron manufactures from England. In this way Spain sold for a trifle a considerable part of the entrails of the land, acquiring in return only a few fortunes for some lucky individuals, and a mining population which is the most dangerous of all the labouring sections in the realm, and will become more dangerous still when it has ceased to find employment for lack of minerals. That hour is already near at hand.

Again, Spain's commercial relations with the Philippines and the Antilles were never established on the basis of reciprocity. The sugar industry offers a salient example. It might have supplied a solid base for commercial reciprocity between Spain and her colonial possessions in the Gulf of Mexico. But, when they were still under the dominion of the Spanish Crown, the Government clandestinely favoured the creation of a sugar industry at home; and, as soon as the colonies had been torn away by the United States, these sugar factories were openly and generously supported. Capitalists flocked to invest their money; agriculturists competed to obtain shares. In a word, there was what is known as a boom in sugar. In Spain, however, it assumed the shape of an irrational boom. One Joint Stock Company was promoted and formed, with a large capital and magnificent plant, installed regardless of cost. Although the object of the Company was the fabrication of sugar, nobody took the trouble to find out whether there was any beetroot available in the neighbourhood. When this question ultimately became pressing, the cheerless information was elicited that there was no beetroot to be had within a reasonable distance, and that none could be cultivated for lack of water.

In such circumstances, it is no matter for surprise that, under the appearance of flourishing finances, and despite budgets with genuine surpluses, the economic ground-work of the Spanish State is dangerously unstable. More than half the entire population earns either nothing at all or too little to play the part of active and useful members of a progressive nation. One must realise all that this state of social unrest and economic disquietude implies, before one can grasp the

principal problem with which the Spanish statesman, if he is to deserve as well as to receive laurels, must successfully grapple. The Greek law-givers dreaded the population which had no permanent employment and no sure means of gaining a livelihood. The Spaniards show the same apprehension in their proverb: 'Where there's lack of bread, there's lack of order.' Of this dangerous section of the population, a large number belong to the intelligent classes. For in Spain the educational problem has an appeal of its own which is imperfectly understood by ourselves.

In Great Britain people are wont to lay the chief stress on the fact that 40 per cent. of the population of Spain can neither read nor write. That no doubt is lamentable; but it is by no means the whole problem, nor indeed the essential part of it. The substance of the matter is that the other 60 per cent. have but the varnish of diplomas, certificates, and degrees, and are in reality little more educated than the rest. The framework of instruction is there—Universities, Grammar-Schools, Technological Institutes, professors, doctors, examinations, and all the paraphernalia of high-class instruction. But they are nuts without kernels, frames without pictures. There are ten Universities in Spain, with ten Law Schools, six Schools of Medicine, and five High Schools of Science. These establishments, together with the special schools for various kinds of engineering, science, commerce, music, etc., constitute the highest-grade education in the country. For intermediate education there are about sixty official Lyceums or Grammar-Schools, besides which there are no less than forty normal training colleges for teachers of each sex. The State, having provided 25,000 official schools for elementary instruction, considers that it has done its duty by the masses.

But, from top to bottom, all these institutions are the merest make-believe; seeming, not being or doing, is their essence. Many, probably most, of them are worse than non-existent, for they impart a misplaced and pernicious feeling of security. Whether you enter a religious or an irreligious school, a University or a Lyceum, you find yourself among people trained to make the youth confided to their charge seem what they are

not. This is a fact which nobody in Spain will deny. The Minister of Public Instruction, who is a Radical, recently informed the writer that one of his first cares would be to convene an assembly of teachers, professors, and eminent authorities on pedagogy throughout the land, to have the whole subject discussed by them, and to learn their opinions on the remedies which he proposes to apply. The leader of the Conservative party, Don Antonio Maura, told the same harrowing story. The republican view of the matter was no more optimistic than that of Señor Maura, or Señor Burrell. When a youth has left a Lyceum, a University, or a High School, with an official label, which is the one recompense for which he worked, he knows little or nothing; and least of all does he know how to cope with dangers, to surmount difficulties, to carry on the struggle for life, to deal with his fellow competitors.

A special inquiry respecting the schools of commerce met with astonishing answers from banking and other business firms. 'Yes,' we were told, 'these schools are frequent. They turn out a certain number of professors and of experts every year. But we pay no heed to their certificates or recommendations. When we want an employee, we announce the vacancy and institute a competitive examination. In this we lay stress, of course, on the practical side; and the questions we set are such as give us a fair idea of the candidate's real qualifications. The Bank of Spain itself follows this method, even when the vacant post carries with it such small salaries as 45*l.* and 60*l.* a year. The diplomas of the official schools are little more than waste paper. How could it be otherwise? The State schools of commerce are presided over by briefless lawyers who have influence in the sphere of politics.' As in the matter of protecting national industries, so in the work of training men of business, the State is often guilty of incongruities worthy of the Turkey of Abdul Hamid. In Madrid, some time ago, a technical High School for Engineers was built, but was left unopened for five years because a modest chemical laboratory could not be provided. The State itself, which confers diplomas, disregards them. No administrative post, however humble, is bestowed upon any one, however brilliant his diploma may

be, until he has passed through the mill of a competitive examination; and it is the same if he seeks to become consulting physician at a watering-place, or a judge in a law court. Follow a young man from the time he begins to attend an intermediate school, until he is at the professional goal of which this school is the starting-point, and you will begin to grasp the reason of much that shocks and baffles the foreigner who endeavours to understand Spanish politics.

Take a boy of the middle classes. His parents will never send him to a State school for his elementary instruction; they will prefer a private establishment, most probably one conducted by some religious congregation. At a moderate estimate his tuition there will cost altogether 600 pesetas, or say 32%. He then enters a secondary school. If his parents choose one provided by the State, he will have to remain there six years, pay matriculation and examination fees, purchase absurdly expensive class-books, etc. During those years he will have spent, exclusive of food, clothing, etc., 1500 pesetas, or about 80%, whereupon he obtains his bachelor's degree. For the career of barrister he will have to devote six years to special studies, during which his expenses will amount to about 135%; for that of physician eight years and 190%. In other words, it costs a father of a family from 250% to 300% to qualify his son for the Bar or the career of medicine; and to this sum must be added 45% more, representing the money which he must pay to redeem his son from military service. Consequently this parent, who himself earns from 80% to 100% a year—and many receive less—will have had to pay from 300% to 350% in order to see his son called to the Bar at the age of twenty-two or qualified to heal at the age of twenty-four years. And then? Then he must wait for a vacancy and, when it occurs, present himself for examination together with a number of hungry competitors. If he fails, he remains penniless and may try again. If he succeeds, he may receive a place worth 100% or 110% a year; or it may be only a place in the Post-office, which will bring him from 45% to 48% a year. And the competitive examination is severe, because for every such place there are twenty, thirty and even more candidates. Some of these, sickened by frequent failures,

are glad to settle down at last as comptrollers of the tramways of the capital, at a wage of four pesetas (or about 3s. 9d.) a day. At this moment there are young men in Madrid who, after all their years of study and despite all their examinations and diplomas, have come to this.

Now, the social, political and economic maladies, of which these facts are symptoms, constitute the real problems that press for a solution. And they would probably have been taken in hand by this time, had they not been set aside in order to give precedence to a problem which can hardly be termed urgent and certainly has no claim to form the line of cleavage between the two Monarchist parties which now stand between Spain and revolution. Anti-clericalism has been artificially brought to the front by the radicalising of the Liberal party, which had exhausted its own programme and lacked a party cry.

For a long time anti-clericalism seemed to have died out in Spain. It had been buried by the two Monarchist parties, Liberals and Conservatives, who agreed to regard the constitutional monarchy as inviolable and to avoid any contentious matter calculated to jeopardise its existence. The results from this point of view justified all reasonable expectations. The high clergy, formerly Carlist to a man, and the heads of the religious congregations, accepted a *modus vivendi* with the dynasty, and showed themselves in the palace on the birthdays of the King and Queen. Republicanism, for lack of sustenance, languished; Carlism lost its formidable aspect, and became a theory with a dash of romance to spice it; anti-clerical journals died of inanition. Then came the crash of 1898, the collapse of the colonial empire, the humiliation of warlike Spain, which stirred the nation and demolished many a landmark. People lost their bearings in the transitional state of things that ensued. Two noteworthy gatherings, composed of representatives of the producing and mercantile classes, met at Saragossa. They adopted resolutions censuring the politicians in general, and calling upon the Government to draft a set of administrative and economical reforms which were what the nation most sorely needed. In all this there was no hint of anti-clericalism. But the parties were

deaf and blind. They had drifted into war because they had misapprehended the temper of the nation, and now they feared to give ear to the voice of prudence, lest the army should protest angrily, the Carlists organise an insurrection, and the republicans, profiting by the ensuing state of anarchy, renew their long-deferred attack upon the constitutional monarchy. The inmates of the Palace were frightened by the spectre of Carlism; suspicion, groundless but disquieting, attached to General Weyler; and nobody knew whither the nation was drifting.

When General Polavieja assumed the reins of power, rumour at once ascribed to his administration a clerical tinge which was purely imaginary. Wiseacres assumed that it was his mission or his aim to check the advance of Carlism; and, as the most effectual means of achieving this was to draw the Vatican to the side of the dynasty, it was inferred that clericalism was to be one of the methods of the dynastic champion. In truth, Polavieja was indifferent to clericalism. Indeed, the only reference he made to a policy of alliance between State and Church was discovered in a harmless passage in which he spoke of maintaining good relations with the Vatican. Now Spain was on a very friendly footing with Rome already, and the exhortation was therefore superfluous. It was also unwise; for the mere fact that it was uttered lent colour to the theory that the Polavieja Cabinet was clerical. As a matter of fact it was composed of the anti-clericals of to-day. It was warmly supported by the newspapers, by Señor Gassat, by the Count de Romavones, and even by the present Premier, Señor Canalejas. The two last-named Ministers, however, soon parted from Polavieja, who joined hands with Señor Silvela, then chief of the Conservatives, but no more of a clerical than was the late Mr Gladstone. The only utterance of his that could be construed as clerical was essentially a plea for keeping the engagements made by the Spanish Government. 'With respect' (he said) 'to the things that appertain to religion and to its relations, it behoves us strictly to observe the stipulations concluded with the Holy Father.' That was all. Those engagements were being carried out thoroughly; and that is why a meaning was ascribed to Señor Silvela's words which they were never intended to have. It was asserted by many, and

believed by a few, that his aim was to provoke the anti-clericals. As the Liberals and Radicals had exhausted their programme of political reforms, they welcomed anti-clericalism as a new and effective war-cry.

Silvela's antagonist, Señor Romero Rollo, at once made capital out of the Conservative leader's incautious words. He said, and said truly (January 19, 1899):

'In a country in which liberty fosters respect for all creeds and for all confessions, liberty in whose shade Catholic communities and associations have developed without arousing trouble, the religious question has been revived. Passions are let loose to-day which seemed extinguished for ever. Hereby is inaugurated an era of agitation and of dissensions, just at the moment when tranquillity is more needed than ever, when we require that peace without which it is impossible to tap the fountains of public riches and to meet the immense obligations of the Treasury entailed by the loss of our colonial possessions.'

Silvela protested, explained, defined his position. He stated that there was no religious question in Spain, and that the Conservatives had no intention of fabricating one; they would respect liberty of conscience as well as all the other liberties guaranteed by the Constitution. But his words were mere wind. The ball, once set rolling, was kept rolling by the parties. Anti-clericalism forced its way into politics. There were at that time some politicians, like the present Premier, Señor Canalejas, and General Lopez Dominguez, who had broken with the Liberal party, and also a few, such as the Duke of Tetuan and Señor Romero Rollo, who declined to submit to the discipline of the Conservative party as reconstituted by Silvela; and an attempt was made to get them to follow the lead of the Liberal chief, Señor Sagasta. But a formula was necessary; and the formula ultimately drawn up had an anti-clerical flavour. It ran thus: 'A policy which shall close the doors to reaction, and confirm all the liberties acquired, including and setting in the forefront liberty of conscience.' This formula was drafted by Señor Rollo (February 28, 1899) and adhered to by the politicians for whose behoof it had been devised. But it served no useful purpose, because on the same day Sagasta's Cabinet fell; and the formula lay like a

flag abandoned on the battle-field. That is the flag which is now unfurled.

The Conservatives were now in power; and all their efforts were absorbed by the formidable economical problem created by the unsuccessful war. The budget passed at a bound from a total of 700,000,000 to one of 1,000,000,000 pesetas. Silvela soon resigned, owing to circumstances wholly alien to clericalism; and his place was taken by General Azcarraga, a warrior who holds that his heart belongs to the ladies, his body to his country and his sovereign, and his soul to God. His reputation as a pious Catholic inspired fresh life into the legend of clericalism. The legend was strengthened by the marriage of the Princess of the Asturias to a son of the Count of Caserta, and an anti-clerical campaign was forthwith begun.

Caserta was a Bourbon and a Carlist. He was even more, for he had fought side by side with Don Carlos. But time and reflection had damped the fire of his enthusiasm for Carlism and dulled the edge of his hatred for the constitutional régime; and he had evinced symptoms of a wish to be reconciled with the reigning dynasty. The Liberal chief Sagasta, consulted by the Queen-Regent, had strongly advised her to favour these inclinations and even to allow the Count's three sons to enter Spain and pursue their studies in the Military Academy there. The Queen followed this wise counsel; the lads returned to their native country, and were received and welcomed at Court almost as members of the Royal Family. One of them, a youth of good figure and charming manners, won the heart of the King's sister and asked for her hand. 'Clericalism has crept back into Spain in the garb of Carlism,' politicians exclaimed; and the cry was taken up. Even Señor Sagasta himself, who had paved the way for the union of the loving couple, joined the crowd and professed to be indignant at the idea of allowing such a match. But Sagasta was an accomplished actor, and he seldom doffed the mask. The wedding took place early in 1901, Madrid being in a state of siege. The Liberals were called to power, that being the Spanish way of placating them; and, as usual, it was efficacious. They had nothing to urge against the marriage. They felt bound, however,

to throw a sop to the anti-clericalism which the party itself had created, strengthened as it was by the general attack delivered against Catholicism by the Government of the French Republic.

After a six months' quest, the Liberals in power hit upon a measure which seemed to them adequate for the tactical purpose they had in view. In September 1901 a royal decree was promulgated by which the State declared that all religious congregations in the country must be duly registered in the books of the prefecture, under pain of being treated as illegal associations and dissolved. The effect of this decree was not really serious; its sting lay in the form. Spain was bound by a clause in the Concordat, which restrained the Government from dealing with the question of religious orders and congregations except in agreement with the Vatican. No Spanish Cabinet could commit a breach of this compact without rendering the Concordat itself null and void. If the Government was convinced that the conditions regulating the religious congregations in the Peninsula were no longer advantageous to the nation, two courses lay open to it. It might approach the Papal Secretary of State, and propose a new set of conditions; and, if this proposal were rejected, it might denounce the Concordat and effect a rupture, temporary or permanent, with Rome. Against this mode of procedure no serious objection could be taken. But the Liberal Cabinet, by way of showing its independence, treated the matter unilaterally, as though it were bound by no stipulations with Rome. Naturally the Vatican protested; and Spanish Liberals professed to be shocked that it should protest. But they had no intention of translating words into deeds. On the contrary, in April 1902, they arrived at a *modus vivendi* with Rome, which restored the *status quo ante* and practically repealed the decree of September. Nothing could display more clearly the hollowness of the policy advocated by the Liberals, or the fact that their espousal of anti-clericalism was but the grasping of a lever which would enable them, for the time being, to get the better of their political adversaries.

It was a Liberal Cabinet which thus ate its own words, approved the marriage against which it had protested as though it were the ruin of Spain, and

promised the Pope to respect stipulations which it had sweepingly condemned as pernicious to the State. This historic *modus vivendi* should be borne in mind when passing in review the acts of the present Cabinet, which has revived the September decree in spite of its practical repeal in April 1902. In order to save their face, or as much of it as was still left, the members of the Liberal Cabinet launched a report that they would display their anti-clerical bias by drafting a severe law regulating the conditions under which associations might be formed. But nothing came of these threats; and at the end of the year 1902 the Liberals gave place to their adversaries.

The Conservatives recognised that the number of the religious congregations and the commercial and industrial influence which they were wielding in Spain called for an immediate remedy. The Premier Silvela himself had assured the writer emphatically that he was as hostile to this abuse as were the Liberals. And he showed it. As he felt bound by the Concordat, he turned in the first instance to Rome, and reopened negotiations with the Vatican. So forcibly did he put his case that the Papal Secretary of State acquiesced in the terms of a draft-treaty which modified the Concordat, restricted the number of congregations, and invested the State with the right of intervening actively by way of inspection and control. This diplomatic instrument is well worth considering, because it is essentially identical with one of the Bills drafted by the actual Premier, Señor Canalejas, which has won for him the plaudits of anti-clerical Spain and France. The so-called 'Law of the Cadenas,' devised by Señor Canalejas in the year 1910, was extorted from Rome by the Conservative Premier Silvela. Curiously enough, it was the Liberals who in the Senate opposed this treaty and ensured its defeat. Señor Maura did not insist, for he holds that in matters like this, which affect the country as a whole, it behoves the Government to act in accordance with the will of the whole nation as represented by both parties in the Legislature.

In the summer of 1905 the Liberals returned to power, but they fought shy of religious problems. It was difficult for them to know exactly what to do, considering what they had already done and left unachieved. In the spring of the following year Señor Moret ventured to

take up the threads of the problem, not where he had left them, but at a wholly different place. He no longer spoke of checking the growth of the congregations, but laicising the State. According to his new doctrine, the only salvation for Spain lay in changing Art. II of the Constitution and substituting entire religious liberty for mere tolerance. He maintained that, in order to effect this, it would be necessary to dissolve the Cortes. As a matter of fact, the Cortes had agreed admirably with the Liberal Cabinet; and, in any case, its term of life would shortly expire. In view of these circumstances, people concluded that Señor Moret's plan was to create a party of his own in the Cortes. Against this his own friends, the Liberals, set their faces; and the Crown, naturally enough, declined to accede to Señor Moret's demand. The Premier accordingly resigned, and was succeeded by General Lopez Dominguez, a Radical of an uncompromising type, who drafted a law on associations, modelled in most respects on that which M. Waldeck-Rousseau enacted for France. The Liberal Cabinet, despite an apparently united front, was a house divided against itself; and each fraction of it looked to chance to enable it to break with its leader. The *deus ex machina* appeared in the person of Señor Moret, who, by means of a series of clever tactical manœuvres, constrained the Premier to resign. Señor Moret assumed the reins of power, but his Cabinet lived only a week.

The Marquis de la Vega de Arnijo formed a cabinet of conciliation which conciliated nobody, and only intensified the anarchy that prevailed within the Liberal party, which in January 1907 had to cede the reins of power to the Conservatives. The chief of the Conservatives, Señor Maura, then had his innings, which lasted until last spring, when he resigned, not because his majority was in danger but because, for dynastic reasons, he was desirous of pacifying the Liberals and the Radicals. Señor Maura asked the Liberals to concert with him and draw up a formula on the subject of the congregations, which would satisfy them both. But the Liberals acted as though they wished the question to remain open. They declined to sit at the round table provided by the Premier, who thereupon dropped the subject and turned his attention to matters more pressing. During the thirty-

three months of the Conservative régime the religious question remained in abeyance.

From a political point of view the so-called clerical question is insignificant. The clergy in Spain is a negligible quantity. The priests and monks have undoubtedly enormous sway over the consciences and often over the property of individuals, but that is because the individual himself confers this power. On the other hand it is a fact that a large number of Spaniards are indifferent in religious matters, and care nothing about the Church, its tenets and its prescriptions. And this section of the population is growing. If these people were properly wrought upon by the State, which has absolute control of education, they could be moulded like clay in the potter's hands. Despite the Concordat, which prescribes Catholic unity, Catholicism in Spain is split up into discordant fractions, which have increased and multiplied since 1869. And, in spite of Art. II of the Constitution, which lays it down that the State religion is Catholicism, everybody is free to adopt any other or no confession, as he thinks fit. In constitutional Prussia, this liberty, although guaranteed by the Constitution, is a delusion. In Spain no such constraint is noticeable. The freedom granted and enjoyed smacks of licence.

That these troubles have not been without their effect on the position of the Spanish monarchy cannot be denied; but, as we have insisted in the earlier portion of this article, the widespread discontent and uneasiness, which undoubtedly exist and may lead to revolutionary attempts, are due far more to economical and social than to religious causes. Further, the dangers which encompass the monarchy emanate rather from the errors of its friends than from the tactics of its enemies. So long as the two parties which divide the Cortes continue to regard the monarchical basis of the State as inviolable, and make manifest their agreement on this head, the dynasty is as secure as any other on the Continent. But there must be no doubt about this, for it cannot be said that the Crown is deeply rooted in the affections of the people. The temper of the army is uncertain; the revolutionary leaders seem confident that they may at least rely upon its friendly neutrality. The outbreaks of last year were really formidable. Had they taken place

in any province but Catalonia, the disaffection might well have spread, and anything might have happened. But rioting in Barcelona is endemic, and is generally discounted as separatist. When the truth was known, the movement, unsupported elsewhere, was already suppressed. But the danger is always there; and the recent revolution in Portugal, should it turn out to be successful, cannot but give encouragement to the republican party in Spain. One thing is clear—that costly expeditions to Morocco must be abandoned, financial economy practised, and anything like new taxes affecting the mass of the people avoided. There is no margin of security to play with.

Harmony between the Monarchist parties, in view of such a position, is essential, if the Spanish nation is to continue to place faith in the Monarchist régime. Apart from wisely-considered economical and financial measures, tending to the promotion of trade and industry, it is of the highest importance that they should come to an agreement on the religious question. The great danger of that question lies in this, that, failing such agreement, one or other of the parties may be driven to have recourse to measures which may undermine the monarchy. As a matter of fact, there is little disagreement as to principles or as to the end in view; the divergence is chiefly on the question of method, and arises largely from mere party strife. Señor Canalejas and the Liberals wish to legislate against the multiplicity of congregations, and to put a stop to religious intolerance. Señor Maura and the Conservatives reply: 'Against your programme we have no insuperable objections; realise it constitutionally, and we will co-operate with you. But do not, in order to enforce your views, call in the aid of parties opposed to the régime we are alike pledged to support.' In the prospect of such co-operation to settle what may otherwise become a dangerous question, lies the chief hope that Spain may at once make a further step towards enlightened regulation of religious, social and economical conditions, and maintain the monarchical system which appears best suited to its political needs.

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